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Near East & South Asia

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CONTENTS

9 MAY 1990

NEAR EAST

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Iranian Ambassador on Sudan Ties, Israeli Threat	<i>[Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH 1 Mar]</i>	1
Rise in Egyptian-Israeli Border Tensions Reported	<i>[Cairo AL-WAFD 22 Mar]</i>	2
Arms Dumping in Middle East Analyzed	<i>[THE JERUSALEM POST 30 Mar]</i>	2
Increase Reported in AGCC Foreign Assets	<i>[Muscat TIMES OF OMAN 29 Mar]</i>	4

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Hamas Leadership Said Moving to West Bank	<i>[Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ 22 Feb]</i>	4
Faction Leaders Comment on Role of Hamas	<i>[London FILASTIN AL-MUSLIMAH Mar]</i>	4
Bank for Funding Projects in Territories To Be Established	<i>[Tel Aviv DAVAR 18 Apr]</i>	7

ALGERIA

Islamic League Official Comments on FIS, Reforms	<i>[London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT 20 Mar]</i>	7
Illizi Governor Discusses Development, Politics	<i>[ALGERIE ACTUALITE 8-14 Mar]</i>	8
Fundamentalist Groups Increasingly Target Women	<i>[Paris LE MONDE 19 Apr]</i>	12

BAHRAIN

Government Reports Increase in Bahrainization	<i>[GULF DAILY NEWS 25 Mar]</i>	13
---	---------------------------------	----

EGYPT

Shaykh al-Sha'rawi Steps In To Solve al-Rayyan Crisis	<i>[ROSE AL-YUSUF 9 Apr]</i>	14
Future of Extremist Movement Discussed	<i>[AL-JUMHURIYAH 15 Mar]</i>	15

ISRAEL

US Aid Calculated as Percentage of Israeli GNP	<i>[Tel Aviv DAVAR 17 Apr]</i>	17
Dangers of Military Cuts Described	<i>[DAVAR 18 Feb]</i>	17
PLO Propaganda Targets Right Wing	<i>[YEDI'OT AHARONOT 23 Feb]</i>	18
Legal Adviser Harish on Judicial, Affairs	<i>[YEDI'OT AHARONOT 23 Feb]</i>	20
Young Druze Protest Discrimination	<i>[AL-HAMISHMAR 19 Feb]</i>	25
Black Hebrews Problem Continues	<i>[DAVAR 20 Feb]</i>	26
Night-Vision Apparatus Developed	<i>[YEDI'OT AHARONOT 18 Feb]</i>	27
Doctors Visit Female Political Prisoners	<i>[DAVAR 8 Mar]</i>	28
Emergency Water Regulations Decreed	<i>[HA'ARETZ 11 Mar]</i>	28
Goals of Hamas Outlined	<i>[THE JERUSALEM POST 30 Mar]</i>	29
New IDF Weekly To Be Distributed	<i>[Tel Aviv AL HAMISHMAR 17 Apr]</i>	30
Economic Orientation of Soviet Immigrants Viewed	<i>[HA'ARETZ 9 Mar]</i>	30
Religious Population Reportedly Gathers Strength	<i>[AL-HAMISHMAR 12 Mar]</i>	32
High-Tension Power Grid Tested	<i>[HA'ARETZ 11 Mar]</i>	33

JORDAN

Goals, Policies of Islamic Jihad Discussed	<i>[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH 23 Mar]</i>	33
--	---------------------------------------	----

LIBYA

Libyan Embassy Makes Political Contribution	<i>[THE HERALD 28 Mar]</i>	37
---	----------------------------	----

MOROCCO

Ambassador to Portugal on Relations, Regional Issues [Lisbon O DIABO 20 Mar]	37
Agadir Port Development Planned [LA VIE INDUSTRIELLE ET AGRICOLE 20 Mar]	39

SUDAN

Columnist Discusses Attempts To Form Popular Democracy [AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH 20 Feb] ..	42
---	----

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Government Bans, Confiscates Publications [KHALEEJ TIMES 25 Mar]	43
--	----

SOUTH ASIA

AFGHANISTAN

Najibullah Discusses Coup, Rebels, Intifada [Nicosia AL-HURRIYAH 8 Apr]	44
---	----

INDIA

Text of President's 12 March Speech to Parliament [PATRIOT 13 Mar]	46
New Kashmir Front Wants Kashmir Independent [THE TIMES OF INDIA 6 Mar]	50
Second Line of Defense Along Pakistan Border Planned [THE HINDU 10 Mar]	51
Commerce Minister Discusses Stand on 'Super 301' [PATRIOT 16 Mar]	52
Advisory Committee on Agriculture Formed in Lok Sabha [THE HINDU 16 Mar]	52
Polarization Between Muslim, Hindu Voters Noted [THE TIMES OF INDIA 7 Mar]	53
Criminal Conspiracy Alleged in Submarine Purchase	54
Details of Case [THE HINDU 6 Mar]	54
Clean-Up Efforts Welcomed [THE HINDU 7 Mar]	56
Paper Reports Content of, Reaction to Railroad Budget	57
Fernandes Presents Budget [THE STATESMAN 15 Mar]	57
CPI-M, Other Parties React [THE STATESMAN 15 Mar]	58
Pre-Budget Economic Survey Presented in Parliament	58
Summary of Contents [THE TIMES OF INDIA 17 Mar]	58
Survey Highlights [THE TIMES OF INDIA 17 Mar]	60
Commentary Views BJP's 'Congressization' in Madhya Pradesh [DINMAN TIMES 18-24 Mar] ..	60

IRAN

Second International Airport Operational in 1995 [London KEYHAN 22 Mar]	62
Direct Flights Connect Tehran, Kuala Lumpur [London KEYHAN 22 Mar]	62
Iranian Koran Reciters in Yugoslavia [KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL 11 Apr]	62
AL-MAJALLAH Reviews Domestic, Exile Press	62
History After Revolution [London AL-MAJALLAH 27 Mar]	62
Domestic Press [London AL-MAJALLAH 27 Mar]	64
Expatriate Journalists [London AL-MAJALLAH 27 Mar]	65

PAKISTAN

Oil Price Hike Discussed	67
IMF Pressure Cited [THE NATION 28 Mar]	67
Benazir Defends Increase [THE NATION 28 Mar]	68
Wide Criticism of Government Reported [THE NATION 28 Mar]	69
Private Sector: Increase To Affect Economy Adversely [DAWN 28 Mar]	70
Private Sector Problems Discussed [BUSINESS RECORDER 26 Mar]	71
Article Urges 'Clean' Role for Private Sector Entrepreneurs [BUSINESS RECORDER 27 Mar] ...	71
Article Questions 'Reality' of 'Progress' [DAWN 27 Mar]	73
Editorial Outlines Pak-EEC Ties [BUSINESS RECORDER 24 Mar]	75

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Iranian Ambassador on Sudan Ties, Israeli Threat

90AA0044A Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH
in Arabic 1 Mar 90 p 5

[Interview with Majid Kamal by Sarah Ghazali; first four paragraphs are AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH introduction; place and date not specified]

[Excerpts] The Islamic revolution in Iran has faced different challenges and raised numerous questions. Still relevant are questions about the revolution's future after the declaration of the Islamic republic, and what the revolution has achieved.

AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH poses questions to Mr. Majid Kamal, the ambassador of the Iranian Islamic Republic in Khartoum. The most important of these questions concern war, peace, the challenges facing the Arabs in general and Sudan in particular, the most important international developments, and the fall of Eastern European regimes.

His grace the Iranian ambassador also addresses Iranian-Sudanese relations, the problems facing the Arab nation, such as the achievement of peace and stability in the Gulf region, and the horizons of the revolution of stones in Palestine that is confronting the Zionist "cancer."

Iran is currently celebrating the annual commemoration of the establishment of the Islamic Republic.

Personal Biography

His grace the ambassador began the interview by providing some personal background information: I am Majid Kamal. I worked for 18 years in the Iranian Foreign Ministry with responsibility for Middle Eastern Affairs. I worked in the Middle East and was responsible for Lebanon and Palestine. I have been in Sudan, a great country most dear to us, for a year. [passage omitted]

Iranian-Sudanese Relations

[AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH]] What are your foreign policy principles and the horizons of diplomatic relations with Sudan?

[Kamal] The basic foundations of Iranian foreign policy focus on establishing diplomatic relations and extending bridges of cooperation with Islamic and Arab states. Iran places special priority on Sudan and the establishment of diplomatic relations with it, because it is among the closest Islamic countries and has a favored geographical position in the midst of the Arab, Islamic, and Christian worlds, and the Arab African states. Sudan is also located in the heart of the Islamic world, neighbors numerous African states, and has an influential regional role clear to friends and enemies alike. Sudan's friends hope that it will be strong and developed. Its enemies do not wish it that, nor do they wish it stability.

Relations between the two countries are developed. They began after al-Numayri's deposition and the outbreak of the popular uprising. A number of "economic-cultural" agreements were concluded but not implemented. After the salvation revolution, Iranian officials emphasized their desire to implement these agreements, and we have learned from officials here that they desire to establish good relations with friendly states. We are prepared to consolidate our relations economically and culturally and to implement agreements between the two Islamic states for use in the field of development.

[AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH] Sudan faces a number of problems and dangers, including the problem of the south, foreign interventions, and the Israeli presence in the Red Sea. How do you appraise these problems, and what is the required position?

[Kamal] We view the problem of southern Sudan as an internal problem in which foreign interference can be seen. The central government in Sudan can solve it. We can observe a Zionist role in the problem, because Zionism has goals regarding the occupied Arab lands in Palestine and the Islamic world. These goals aim to fight Islam. Therefore, Zionism has objectives regarding the south. The Islamic states must support Sudan in confronting its problem. The south could be the gateway for the spread of Islam in the south. The Islamic states must have a role in solving the problems that Sudan faces. The Zionist danger in the Arab and Islamic region and the world must be confronted, because Zionism is a "cancer" that must be "cut off" and terminated.

Iran rejects the Zionist entity and any negotiations with Zionism and the Israeli government, because Palestine is the land of Islam. The fate of the Palestinians and the future of the Palestinian cause can be understood through the children who carry rocks to confront Israel. The children of the rocks are true Muslims.

The Fall of Marxist Regimes

[AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH] What is your appraisal of developments in East Europe and the fall of Marxist and socialist regimes?

[Kamal] The new changes in the aforesaid regimes have been witnessed in the Arab states. After 70 years, Marxism has proved its inability and inapplicability. It has ended in collapse! These changes and the collapse of these regimes stem from a lack of faith in God and a lack of comprehension of these facts. Our leaders understand these changes. Previously, al-Khamis [Khomeyni] wrote Gorbachev a letter, in which he predicted that Marxism would fall and become a museum piece. Also, liberation from Marxism and socialism and selection of the road to capitalism is tantamount to going from one fire into another, or falling lower.

These new changes in the world require Muslims to unite. The Islamic states must combine economic, cultural, and military forces. Muslims must defend themselves in confronting any hostile acts. The American

intervention in Panama is a lesson for Muslims and Islamic states. The Islamic states must defend their interests and be strong in confronting any aggression.

Rise in Egyptian-Israeli Border Tensions Reported
90P40023A Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 22 Mar 90 p 1

[Report by 'Abd-al-Nabi 'Abd-al-Sattar]

[Text] Egyptian security agencies have adopted unusual security measures in the last few hours along the Egyptian-Israeli border. These measures were decided upon to confront the ongoing unrest in the Rafah region and to prevent the infiltration of foreign elements into Egyptian territory. Diplomatic circles in Cairo have confirmed that there has been constant tension along the Egyptian-Israeli border since the armed attack on the Israeli tourist bus last month. These circles have disclosed objections among those coming from the occupied territories and also among Israelis to the meticulous searching. Furthermore, Israel has adopted similar security measures, claiming that Egyptian territory was used to smuggle weapons and assistance to the leaders of the people's intifadah [uprising] in the occupied Arab territories. The circles suggested that Israel has transferred large numbers of its troops stationed above the Golan Heights and in the security zone in southern Lebanon to its borders with the territories and inside the occupied Gaza Strip near its borders with Egypt to keep an eye out for any joint Jordanian-Iraqi military activity directed against Israel. The circles indicated that there is Israeli uneasiness over the Iraqi and Jordanian air forces' joint training group.

Arms Dumping in Middle East Analyzed
44000259 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 30 Mar 90 p 7

[Article by Dore Gold]

[Text] What should the U.S. do with 930 M-60 A1 tanks that the U.S. Army anticipates will no longer be needed in post-Cold War Europe? The apparent answer in Washington, at this point, is to transfer them to the Third World, and particularly to the Middle East.

This month, the administration notified Congress that 700 of the M-60s would be sold to Egypt to replace obsolete Soviet equipment. This information was included in a classified report sent to Congress that listed \$30 billion of possible arms sales to foreign countries. A little less than half of these sales were to be directed to the Middle East.

The sale of the M-60s to Egypt would not be a major destabilizing element in the Middle East military balance. The M-60 A1 is far less advanced than the 555 M-1 Abrams tanks that Egypt has already agreed to buy from the U.S., though the M-60 A1 can be upgraded to the more potent A3 without much trouble.

The issue raised by the tank deal is how arms-control arrangements in Europe should affect the still conflict-ridden Middle East. The administration appears to have settled on a general policy that will compensate reduced military spending in the Nato region with large increases in military sales elsewhere.

The U.S. may not be alone in following this trend; the Soviet Union is also increasingly looking for arms exports as a source of hard-currency for its weakened economy.

As a result, the Middle East may end up paying the strategic price for welcomed conventional-arms reductions in Europe by entering a new phase of arms racing with advanced surplus production by both super-powers' military industries. Noting this possible trend, the NEW YORK TIMES carried a story this week on the upsurge in planned U.S. arms transfers.

The administration's proposed list already includes items of far greater concern than the Egyptian M-60s. Planned sales of the most advanced American aircraft throughout the Middle East will send more F-16s to Egypt and Morocco and F-18s to the United Arab Emirates.

With F-16s already going to moderate Arab states in large numbers and F-18s to the Saudis' Gulf allies, it should not be surprising to see a sale of F-16s or F-18s to Saudi Arabia in the not too distant future.

In this manner, the introduction of new types of latest-generation fighter aircraft to even more peripheral parts of the Middle East can affect the core Arab-Israeli zone by stimulating a new round of competitive acquisitions by potential confrontation states.

One dangerous precedent-setting sale proposed by the administration is the transfer of MLRS (Multiple Launch Rocket System) to Kuwait and possibly to Saudi Arabia. MLRS, in its simplest form, allows an army to launch up to 12 artillery rockets in succession at a range of approximately 30-40 kilometres.

MLRS rockets can carry terminally guided submunitions that can independently find their way to high value armoured targets like tanks. But more advanced MLRS rockets are already being developed with considerably greater range and accuracy. The U.S. Army's Tactical Missile System (ATACMS), intended to be fired from MLRS launchers, has already gone into initial production and has a reputed range of 120-130 km. A nuclear version of ATACMS will eventually attain a range of 450 km.

Ironically, the proposal to introduce American artillery rockets in the Middle East comes at a time when the U.S. is increasingly concerned with the proliferation of ballistic missiles in the region. It is noteworthy that the U.S.-supported Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), a multinational non-binding agreement to limit missile proliferation, bans the transfer of missiles

with ranges greater than 300 km. Therefore, missile transfers at ranges below 300 kilometres are fully compatible with U.S. arms control standards.

Saudi MLRS units positioned in northern Saudi Arabia or moved into Jordan with a Saudi expeditionary force could reach many critical points in southern Israel, especially if they were equipped in time with longer-range rockets that are being produced for the U.S. Army's MLRS.

The sale to Jordan of 576 Hellfire anti-tank missiles, also included in the administration's list of proposed arms deals, requires careful scrutiny.

Jordan has not obtained major American arms systems for a considerable period of time because of its failure to enter the Middle East peace process.

The Hellfire missile sale, being considered for this year, if executed, would allow the Jordanians to double the range of their TOW anti-tank missiles that are mounted on their Cobra helicopters. Should Jordan join Israel's Eastern Front, the Cobra/Hellfire combination would threaten Israeli armour considerably westward of the Jordan River. Due to Jordan's increasing security cooperation with Iraq, including the use of Jordanian air-space by Iraqi reconnaissance aircraft spying on Israel, the destabilizing effects of enhancing Jordan's capabilities must be critically considered.

Why is this spate of arms sales coming at this time? Has the Libyan threat to Egypt suddenly intensified, requiring further modernization of the Egyptian armed forces?

Recently, Libyan-Egyptian relations have shown signs of considerable improvement, with reciprocal visits by both countries' leaders. In the Persian Gulf, the air and naval confrontation between Iran and Iraq has ended. Several factors stand out that explain the new upsurge in anticipated arms sales. As already noted, arms exports allow the U.S. defence industry to cushion the blow of reduced Pentagon purchases of major weapons systems and maintain original unit costs when sizeable American orders are unexpectedly cut.

Increased U.S. defence exports in this region have new salience, moreover, for two critical reasons. America's increased dependence on foreign oil, and its desire to retain its market share of Middle Eastern weapons purchases against European and Soviet competition.

Over the last few years U.S. imports of foreign crude oil and refined crude products have risen dramatically from 30 percent of American consumption in 1985 to as much as 54 percent in January 1990.

Saudi oil imports to the U.S. doubled from 681,000 barrels per day in 1986 to 1.25 million barrels per day in 1989. Kuwait, which sold no oil to the U.S. in early 1989, was exporting some 300,000 barrels per day by mid-year.

Even Iraq increased its export of oil to the U.S. from 81,000 barrels per day in 1986 to 500,000 barrels per day last year.

In 1990, according to the OIL AND GAS JOURNAL, these imports could cost the U.S. some \$50 billion in 1990 and hurt the American balance of payments markedly.

The U.S. became concerned that it would lose political influence in the Persian Gulf in 1988 when the Saudis decided to buy 48 Tornado fighter-bombers from Great Britain, instead of contending with Congress over additional American F-15s.

In February, the commander-in-chief of the U.S. Central Command that oversees American military activities in the Gulf told a Congressional committee that once the British aircraft package of 1988 is delivered, only 48 per cent of the Saudi Air Force will be U.S.-supplied. He added that if the aging Saudi F-5 fleet is replaced by non-American aircraft, the U.S. share of the Saudi Air Force could drop to 20 percent. "This picture is repeated throughout the Gulf area....and as our military assistance programmes diminish, our influence will erode....," he noted.

That erosion is precisely what the Bush administration is hoping to avoid. Summarizing current U.S. energy policy, the PETROLEUM ECONOMIST argued in February that "although the Bush government continues to bemoan the undesirability of heavy reliance on oil imports, particularly over the long haul from the Arabian peninsula, it also has accepted its inevitability. Policy is being shaped accordingly... The power vacuum in the Gulf is being filled by establishment of an American sphere of influence."

Preserving American influence in the Persian Gulf, advancing a wise energy policy for the Western alliance, and preserving the stability of the Arab-Israeli military balance would appear to be contradictory goals.

Critical examination of each of these elements must be made before the next wave of armaments floods the Middle East. Diversification of American energy sources would seem to be globally safer policy option than reliance on the Persian Gulf; the Soviet oil industry could use considerable assistance now that superpower relations have improved. If the U.S. is planning to make large arms sales to the Middle East along Israel's Eastern Front, than talk of cuts in aid to Israel is absurd unless the administration is not concerned about assisting Israel in balancing this new equipment. Certainly arms sales ought to take into account past American commitments to preserve Israel's qualitative superiority against an Arab coalition.

But most of all, U.S. policy on the peace process must take into account overall U.S. arms sales strategy. If arms sales must proceed, some way should be found to alleviate the hostility between Israel and the states of its east.

Confidence-building measures should be sought between Israel and its potential military adversaries; if they refuse to engage in such a process, that should be clearly stated in Washington and its implications for arms transfers considered.

Until the fall of the Israeli government, the State Department focused almost exclusively on the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue in Cairo and did little about that part of the Israeli peace initiative that addressed the Arab states. To produce a strategically stable peace process, American diplomacy will have to proceed on both the Palestinian and Arab-state tracks, especially if Washington feels that it must continue to make large arms transfers to the post-Cold War Middle East.

Increase Reported in AGCC Foreign Assets
44000263A Muscat TIMES OF OMAN
in English 29 Mar 90 p 18

[Text] Foreign assets held by the six Arab Gulf Cooperation Council [AGCC] states rose to \$350 billion in mid 1989 from \$306 billion in 1983, a senior Gulf economist said in a report published last week in Bahrain.

Gulf International Bank economist Henry 'Azzam said close to 35 percent of the total was invested in the European Community, 14.5 percent in the United States, and 16 percent in other OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] countries—mainly Japan and Canada.

Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates form the AGCC, and economic and defence alliance.

'Azzam said private sector investment made up around \$150 billion of total AGCC foreign assets while the rest was held by governments.

About 42 percent of the \$350 billion was held in the form of bank deposits in around 20 industrialised countries, reflecting Gulf investor preference for liquid assets, he said.

Government securities in the United States, Britain and other OECD countries accounted for another 14.8 percent while gold, Special Drawing Rights and foreign exchange with IMF comprised 7.7 percent.

'Azzam said the value of AGCC overseas assets had risen since 1983 although several member states had liquidated some assets to help cover budget and current account deficits.

"This undoubtedly reflects the increased sophistication of the region's investment policies which took advantage of buoyant equity markets in the last few years," he said.

'Azzam predicted capital outflow from the Gulf would slow in coming years due to an upturn in AGCC economies fuelled mainly by higher oil prices.

"Increasingly more funds will be invested in the region, either expanding existing businesses and establishing new ones or benefiting from the surge in the region's stock and real estate markets," he said.

But 'Azzam said established investors would continue to recycle their wealth abroad.

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Hamas Leadership Said Moving to West Bank
44230113A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ
in Hebrew 22 Feb 90 p 1

[Article by Eytan Ravid]

[Text] Security sources in the Gaza Strip note that a new leadership has arisen in the territories for Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement]—a leadership that arose following the arrest of the previous leadership that was headed by the leader of the movement, Shaykh Ahmad Yasin. According to them, the center of gravity of the movement has passed from the Gaza Strip to the West Bank. The nucleus of the movement is centered today in the Nablus and Tulkarm region, and the ideological leaders of the movement are three shaykhs—Shaykh Sa'id Bilal, Shaykh Ramid Bal'awi, and Shaykh Subhi 'Anbatawi. The leader of the movement in the Gaza Strip region is Shaykh Ma'aruf al-Najjar.

The security forces point to the fact that Hamas leaflets are now printed with computer typography and on good paper, which indicates, in their opinion, that the printing is done by Israeli Arabs. This fact supports the estimate that the center of gravity of the movement has moved from the Gaza Strip.

In the opinion of the security sources, most of Hamas activity centers on transmitting documents by facsimile to London and to Amman, where the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood movement reside. However, the sources noted that the leadership of Shaykh Ahmad Yasin remains unshaken, and he is still the leader with the greatest influence among the members of the Hamas movement. At the same time, because he has been imprisoned for several months, there has arisen an alternative leadership which, in the opinion of security sources, is less extremist than the imprisoned leaders. The sources note that many Hamas activists were freed recently from prison, from the prison installations at Qetzi'ot in the Negev, and from the prison installation in Gaza.

Faction Leaders Comment on Role of Hamas
90AE0015A London FILASTIN AL-MUSLIMAH
in Arabic Mar 90 pp 12-14

[Interviews with PFLP Secretary General George Habash, DFLP Secretary General, member of PLO Central Committee Abu-Iyad, member of the Palestinian Communist Party Sulayman al-Najjar: "Hamas in Eyes

of Palestinian Leadership: What Do Faction Leaders Say About Hamas"; first two paragraphs are FILASTIN AL-MUSLIMAH introduction; date and place not given]

[Text] In edition No. 988, AL-HADAF, the PFLP [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine] organ, interviewed a number of Palestinian leaders, asking them about their view of Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement. The leaders interviewed include George Habash, the PFLP secretary general; Nayif Hawatimah, the DFLP [Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine] secretary general; Abu-Iyad, the number two man in Fatah and member of the [PLO] Central Committee; and Sulayman al-Najjab from the Palestinian Communist Party.

We in FILASTIN AL-MUSLIMAH cite here a part of the dialogue, avoiding any comment on or response to numerous fabrications and suspicions cast on Hamas. Now, to the interview:

[George Habash] On the ground of comprehensive confrontation, I welcome Hamas' accession to the current confronting the Zionist enemy decisively. Whoever knows this tendency's history, slogans, priorities, and the complications experienced by the occupied land because of this tendency's positions and then compares all this with the position this tendency has taken since the intifadah [uprising] realizes the great difference and warmly welcomes the tendency's accession to the national current. There is no doubt that Hamas' and the Islamic Jihad's participation in the ongoing field struggle is a gain for the national struggle and momentum for the popular intifadah. But the intifadah interest and its continuity require us not to be content with the field unity existing on the ground. Rather, we must seek to complete the links of this unity so that this tendency may join the UNC [Unified National Command]. This is an objective which we must seek with sincere efforts so that we may overcome obstacles that may stand in its path. We will spare no effort to accomplish this objective.

What are the obstacles that have prevented attaining this condition?

I regret to say that the main reason is Hamas, which links the ideological factor to the political factor more strongly than it should, failing to give the current political movement its fundamental share in forming alliances and meeting the confrontation requirements.

In its view, Hamas feels that its opportunity to confront the Zionist enemy provides it with the right political moment to open its path toward competing with the PLO. At the same time, I regret to say that some influential PLO forces which have marched along the political line of making concessions, recognizing resolution 242, and then making more concessions, also share the responsibility for excluding Hamas from the PLO. In the light of this analysis, ceaseless efforts must be made to include Hamas, as well as all the forces participating in the intifadah, in the UNC. Therefore, I appeal to all

the forces and masses to exert most serious and responsible efforts in order that all may be included and represented in the UNC.

As for Hamas' influence, I do not wish to dwell here on the dimensions of this influence or of the influence of any of the UNC factions. This is an issue determined by the people's ranks, as it is determined by our people in the camps and in other parts of the diaspora. However, we should point out that Hamas, with its weight and influence in the occupied land, is moving toward action that is more and more parallel to the UNC action. The presence of this action is due to numerous factors. First, Hamas is not a new organization but an extension of the [Muslim] Brotherhood movement which has been operating among our people's ranks and in the Arab region throughout tens of years. Consequently, Hamas is not starting from scratch but has the frameworks and the cadres. Second, throughout 20 years of occupation, Hamas has not been subjected to the same pursuit and persecution as the other resistance factions. Right from the start, the occupation has considered these factions illegal and has subjected them to daily pursuit and persecution. The minimum term to which any member of the Palestinian resistance factions is sentenced is a three-year prison term, whereas Hamas has avoided such punishment for more than 20 years. Consequently, it has maintained all its frameworks, cadres, and forms of action free of harassment by the occupation. The occupation has always viewed Hamas as a charitable nonpolitical movement. It is normal that Hamas has gained greater vitality and influence since it proceeded to take part in the intifadah. Whoever struggles against the occupier finds an attentive ear among our people. The phase is one of expelling the occupation and not an ideological phase. This is why we agree on the common national denominators by struggling against this occupation to wrench our people's right to self-determination, to an independent state, and to repatriation.

Moreover, in recent years and in the wake of the Islamic Iranian revolution's triumph on the one hand and the increasingly obvious failure of the Arab parties and ruling regimes which had raised the slogans of democracy, socialism, freedom, and national unity but failed to fulfill their commitments and to provide the masses' movement with an attractive model—in the wake of all this, numerous social segments, especially among the ranks of the small bourgeoisie, and numerous poor quarters which have no experience with labor and class struggle and which suffer from the hardships of social life, as well as the hardships of the occupation, have turned to the Islamic tendency, hoping that it will provide them with the elements of salvation. Some hope for salvation in the hereafter because they have lost hope of salvation on earth and some hope for a combination of this and that under the banners of political religiosity.

This is not a discovery because this attitude has recurred in Arab Islamic history, as it has recurred in Christian European history. When the democratic and leftist forces fail to provide the solutions which open the

horizons of liberties and democracy, and when these forces fail to solve the people's economic, social, and spiritual problems, large parts of the masses turn to the religious tendencies. This is a convenient phase, because these sectors of the masses rediscover with their own practical experience that they can only rely on their organized effort to wrench their liberties, democracy, national rights, independence, and economic and social rights with a class struggle that is organized through parties and unions which believe in and work for these programs that march anew on the land and that touch the people's issues, and not with dreams which may or may not materialize.

[Abu-Iyad] The Islamic tendency issue—the Hamas issue specifically—is a sensitive issue. To begin, I wish to stress that there is coordination with Hamas and that we have to accept the result produced by this coordination because Hamas' plan is an alternative to the UNC and to the entire Palestinian national movement. Regrettably, the Islamists are wagering on this plan. Even the Israelis themselves are wagering on this plan, considering that they discriminate in the way they treat the Palestinian national movement and the way they treat Hamas. The Israelis do this in an attempt to rally the ordinary citizen behind Hamas. I do not believe that Hamas has any connection with the Israelis, with Mosad, or with the other Israeli agencies. But what is also true and correct is that our people's enemies at home, such as the Mosad, the Shin Beth, and all the Israeli security agencies, exploit Hamas as a movement to separate it from the Palestinian national movement and to cause clashes between the two.

We have foiled the enemy's objective by refusing to respond emotionally to this planned alternative which they are trying to characterize to us as a Palestinian state, a PLO, or a UNC. The obstacles impeding a merger come not from the Palestinian resistance movement but from Hamas itself. In this regard, I believe that the Muslim Brotherhood has always made mistakes in forming alliances with others. In Egypt, the brotherhood did not ally itself with the national forces. Consequently, the movement was struck in Egypt as it was struck in more than one area because it had not allied itself with the national forces. The brotherhood always wants to act alone. It is as if it has not learned from the lessons of the 1950's or 1960's.

At present, we are under Israeli occupation and neither of us has the opportunity to expel the other from the arena. Consequently, the action must be carried out through the existing political structure.

Believe me that the obstacle is not from the Palestinian national movement but from Hamas itself, because the idea that it is the only alternative in the arena still lives in Hamas' imagination. I know the Muslim Brotherhood and know how the brothers have been thinking from the 1950's to the present time. All the blows the brotherhood

has suffered are a result of the fact that the brotherhood thinks unilaterally on the basis that it is the only force in the arena.

[Nayif Hawatimah] In the context of defining the forces moving the intifadah, we must first define the motivating class forces, side by side with the organized forces that give the intifadah its daily boost. Our people's intifadah did not materialize suddenly and did not drop out of the blue. It is the product of the Palestinian revolution's effort—an effort that has been popular, political, armed, and diplomatic in nature, and that has assumed all of the various forms—throughout 20 years. This is what the intifadah itself has revealed throughout 24 months, contrary to all the allegations surfacing in the Middle East region and in the world media, especially the western media, about the spontaneous nature of the intifadah.

This is why we say that all classes of the Palestinian people are influential in the intifadah ranks, but by varying degrees depending on the depth of the conflict with the occupier and on the firmness and readiness of each class to endure patiently on the path to independence. This is why we notice that all generations are participating in the intifadah, with the obvious and prominent role being performed by the workers, the youth, and women. It would have been impossible for this entire objective process to take its path toward becoming a comprehensive intifadah without the presence of its subjective condition, embodied in the organized forces which had been built throughout more than 20 years by forces whose roots predate 1967. In this context, we should note that with appeal No. 20, the UNC is the party which proceeded to unite all the people's forces under its banner. All these forces consist of PLO factions whose firm struggle the people have tested inside the occupied land, in Lebanon's and Syria's camps, and in other parts of the diaspora. In this regard, the Muslim Brotherhood was late in joining the UNC, even in joining the intifadah. We all know that throughout years, this tendency had no immediate daily role in fighting the occupation, and that the Palestinian resistance forces shouldered the main role in the struggle against the occupation throughout the past 20 years.

Under the umbrella of the intifadah and after a lapse of nearly 10 months, the Muslim Brotherhood discovered that it could not continue to stay far from the intifadah, considering that the brotherhood's base began to exert forceful pressure that led to the secession of the Islamic Jihad Group, which formed an independent organization that immediately joined the UNC in Gaza Strip. Under pressure from the bases and mid-level cadres, the brotherhood developed its position and announced its program under the name of Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement. Hamas announced that it is a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. It has, in fact, been firmly tied to the brotherhood in Jordan and Egypt for many years. We must note here that at the outset of its action, Hamas took steps conflicting with the line and tactics of the intifadah's UNC. Since the first moments of the

occupation, our slogan and appeal to all the tendencies of our people's ranks, including the Islamic tendency, has been: Come let us unite in fighting the occupation and come let us together build the paradise of repatriation, self-determination, and our people's independent state on our occupied land. We do not wish to disagree on paradise in heaven. In clear words, all this means: Let us put the ideological issues aside, let us unite on the issues that exist on our occupied land and in our refugee camps, and let us fight the occupation together. In this context, the brotherhood steered clear of effective participation for many years, and then joined the intifadah under the banner of Hamas. Here, concerted efforts have been made and continue to be made for unified action within the UNC.

After this, we say that Hamas' program is declared, that it states that Hamas is an indivisible part of the Muslim Brotherhood, and that it seeks to establish an Islamic state in accordance with the conventional projections of the Islamic religious political movements. This program may continue to exist within the framework of diversity in the UNC ranks. Therefore, it is still right that Hamas participate in the UNC so that our people may have a single chief of staff that incorporates all the currents and tendencies. Such development has been made in the PLO. Hamas representatives are now present in the National Council and in the PLO Central Council. But this presence has not yet been extended homeward with Hamas' accession to the UNC. Until such a development—which is required by the common national necessity, materializes—we have to exert every effort to build the most advanced relations within the common struggle shared by the UNC members and factions and Hamas members. Within the course of this struggle, the bases will become more familiar with and sympathetic to each other and more interlaced, thus making it easier for all to later participate within the UNC framework.

[Sulayman al-Najjab] The religious tendency's presence in the occupied territories emerged in 1978. It emerged as a tendency parallel to the PLO forces, policy, and factions. This led to opening broad horizons of cooperation in confronting the Israeli occupation and in working to accomplish the intifadah objectives of freedom and national independence.

The Israeli occupation has tried to manipulate the contradiction between the UNC, i.e. the PLO and Hamas, but has failed. The Hamas masses are a part of the Palestinian masses suffering under the weight of the Israeli occupation. These masses are profoundly aware of their main task and their fundamental duty at present, embodied in bringing the intifadah to a successful conclusion and in accomplishing the objectives of the Palestinian national struggle as defined by the Palestinian revolution.

The independence proclamation and the program embraced by the Palestine National Council's 19th session has demonstrated that there is no place for the presence or development of any political force that does

not embrace these objectives. It is well known that since long before the intifadah, we as a Palestinian Communist Party have dealt with the religious forces politically, and that we have rejected all the endeavors to drag the two sides to ideological confrontations. We have constantly presented to these religious forces the issue of cooperation and joint action to confront the Israeli occupation and we have made major accomplishments in this regard. We now urge these forces to engage in joint action within the framework of the intifadah. We also urge them to support the PLO program, which has gained the support of the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people.

Bank for Funding Projects in Territories To Be Established

44000269 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 18 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] About 100 Palestinian businessmen living the the West and the Persian Gulf have decided to establish a bank which will fund financial projects in the territories and grant financial assistance to the intifadah. The decision to establish the bank, which is to be known as the "Palestinian Institute for Aid and Development," was made at a conference of Palestinian financiers headed by Yasir 'Arafat last week in Tunis.

ALGERIA

Islamic League Official Comments on FIS, Reforms

90AA0010A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT
in Arabic 20 Mar 90 p 14

[Interview with Shaykh Muhammad Mahmud al-Sawwaf, member of the Constituent Assembly of the World Islamic League, by Muhammad al-Hashimi al-Hamidi: "First Duty of Islamic Preachers in Algeria Is To Disseminate Consciousness and Spread Enlightened Thought"; Algiers, date not given]

[Excerpt] On a Saudi airplane heading toward Algiers, I met with Shaykh Muhammad Mahmud al-Sawwaf, a member of the Constituent Assembly of the World Islamic League and of the Academy of Islamic Jurisprudence. After a passing greeting and light conversation, I proposed to the shaykh that we should devote some of the time of the relatively long flight to an AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT interview. He agreed, and the result was the following interview:

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What is the purpose of your visit to Algeria?

[Al-Sawwaf] I am no stranger to Algeria. I have visited it many times. It is one of my favorite countries. I praise its struggle and heroism in its Islamic revolution that expelled the colonial usurper, first through the grace of God, and then by the virtue of its outstanding men,

especially Imam Ibn-Badis, Shaykh Bachir el-Ibrahimi, Shaykh el-Arabi el-Tebessi, and other great Islamic scholars.

From the beginning of the Algerian struggle, we in Iraq were spokesmen for the revolution. The late Shaykh el-Ibrahimi stayed with us. I used to tour Iraq with him to make known the Algerian cause. The Iraqi people gave many contributions and much support to the Algerian people.

After independence, I took part in many Algerian Islamic meetings and was in touch with many Algerian officials and Islamic scholars.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Have you followed the course of the reforms that President Bendjedid's government implemented last year, recognizing the Islamic Salvation Front [FIS] and the Society for Guidance and Reform?

[Al-Sawwaf] I am one of those who admires the personality of President Chedli Bendjedid. No wonder: he was one of the fighters who stood up against colonialism. He has a shining history. He was imprisoned and wronged for the sake of his country. I believe his presidency has been a period of benefit and blessing to Algeria. Also, his benevolent efforts in the Islamic world have given his country an exalted position among nations. There is no doubt that his blessed step in opening the way for the leaders of the Islamic movement to work legally indicates his farsightedness and deep faith that Algeria is one of the citadels of Islam. This mighty citadel must hold together. Its people must be in direct contact with luminous Islamic thought through Islamic preachers who speak the truth. We sense that they feel grateful to the president for his farsightedness in granting recognition and allowing them freedom to preach and be active.

On this occasion, I express profound thanks to President Bendjedid for his fortunate steps. I pray that God will grant him success and keep Algeria a steadfast citadel for Islam and Muslims.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What role should the Islamic tendency play in Algeria?

[Al-Sawwaf] In my opinion, the first role that the Islamic call should play in Algeria is to work quickly to disseminate Islamic consciousness and spread bright and enlightening thought, for many Islamic countries suffer from a shameful ignorance of the principles of Islam on the part of their young people. The reason for this ignorance is first the brutal colonialism that did all it could to suppress the realities of Islam. It worked to create secular programs of education with no connection to Islam. Generations have grown up under these programs, knowing nothing about Islam.

Our duty today is to remedy this deficiency, using all the information media with energy and resolution and with full wisdom in summoning to God. We must open the eyes of young people to their past glory, which Western curricula suppressed, while they held up the West as the

epitome of science, civilization, and progress. You know that man is the enemy of what is ignorant. [passage omitted]

Illizi Governor Discusses Development, Politics

90AA0064A Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE
in French 8-14 Mar 90 pp 10-11

[Interview with Athmane Hamidi, governor of Illizi, by Hanafi Taguemout: "Illizi: So Far From Algiers..."; date and place not given; first four paragraphs are ALGERIE ACTUALITE introduction]

[Text] *What a strange idea to go all the way to Illizi to talk about reforms. Blame it on chance, with a little help from circumstances. The "economic week" that brought journalists there, and was announced in full-page ads in EL-MOUDJAHID, involved only a few merchants. The cancellation (probably to prevent clandestine immigrant infiltration) of the Tamanrasset Assihar, which is traditionally organized about that time did not affect the Illizi "Azgher." The promoters' never had great ambitions. They were surprised by the arrival of 10 journalists or so. And embarrassed: the governorate seat does not have an hotel. It took some doing to house everybody.*

That was the first paradox in a governorate where they abound. The infinitely great is found side by side with the infinitesimal. The territory is larger than Portugal, as large as Italy, and it has only 20,000 residents. As a governorate, Illizi is somehow like a teenager who you would decide should marry an adult woman. From the destitute community it used to be, Illizi became the governorate seat in 1984; at the time it had only one shop. Djanet, already a district seat, was better located. But the problems we had with Libya at the time weighed more. So Illizi was chosen. Six years later, a description of the governorate seat will surprise you or make you smile at certain aspects: no doctor, only two butchers, two taxis, a single pharmacy, and a two days' drive to go to the next community. Since 1984, some 40 billion centimes have been poured into the governorate every year. Opinions vary as to the quality of the results. Some governorate officials do not conceal their skepticism and find that with a little over 200 billion paid to the governorate since 1984, the results could be better.

It is hard to decide, to make allowances in a "country" where "northern" logic and reflexes are absolutely ineffective.

Fifteen hundred kilometers from Algiers, that is a long way! The capital is closer to Marseille than to Illizi. Nevertheless, one can follow what is going on there. And have an opinion. Mr. Hamidi, governor of Illizi, expresses his opinion here.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] What were your objectives in organizing the Azgher?

[Hamidi] The event that was organized had several objectives, especially as it had already been organized

two or three times before. The first objective was to enable the people to purchase some products that were not available, with the participation of national enterprises and even the private sector. For all of the communities scattered throughout the governorate, that was an opportunity to shop. This is the traditional mission that was assigned to the event.

The second objective was to attract some national enterprises which, through their contacts, could participate directly or indirectly in typical development operations, like the PMA [expansion unknown]. Third, the presence of the press to cover the event gave us an opportunity to publicize the development possibilities offered by the governorate, its potential. Based on this experiment, we intend to add another facet to the event in the future. We shall no longer be content with an economic week during which enterprises come to sell their products. In the future, simultaneously with all the commercial activity that is taking place, we shall attempt to organize seminars, meetings between specialists and all operators concerned by development, for instance tourism, knowledge about the Tassili park... In the future, we shall try to develop these three sectors simultaneously with the commercial activity.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] We get the impression that the Azgher was only a pretext for the Illizi governorate to indulge in a nice publicity stunt.

[Hamidi] The Illizi governorate does not get to see journalists every day. The Azgher gave it a chance to emerge from oblivion.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] You are in charge of a governorate that is as large as Italy. How do you feel about it?

[Hamidi] First, I am proud. But it is also a great responsibility. It also enables me to reflect on how to meet a social demand, a development that requires a different approach and different methods from those traditionally used in northern governorates.

If we reason, for instance, in terms of communication routes: clearly, in the north a program involving 100 or 150 km will easily enable you to reach many more people living in outlying areas; whereas, conditions here are quite different. Our reflection on development is also different. Elsewhere, in northern governorates, you can get the private sector to participate; but here, it takes action by the state, investment by the state to create jobs... In Illizi, private investment is insignificant. There are not many people and they are scattered over very large areas. To take charge of development, to bring development to these people, requires methods that are quite different from what you are used to.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] Illizi is one of the poorest governorates in the country. Is that its fate?

[Hamidi] No, not at all. Illizi is not an extremely poor governorate, even though, at present, it may have the appearance of poverty; actually, it is not poor.

Since Illizi was promoted to governorate, in 1984, studies were made which concluded to the existence of a considerable potential.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] Yes, but what we see is the current situation of the governorate, not its development prospects.

[Hamidi] Even now, it is a mistake to say that Illizi is one of the poorest governorates. True, part of the people have not yet been reached by the development and progress that followed the creation of the governorate; yet, most of the people have benefited from it. If you look at community or district seats, you will notice that they have reached a good level of development. On the other hand, outlying populations, who remain scattered in outlying places, do not enjoy the same standard of living as the others. But, and I shall now insist on the potential, it is now known that there is a huge water potential in the region to the north of the governorate. It is, therefore, possible to develop agriculture there, and this is relatively new in the governorate.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] But distances will prevent the emergence of an integrated economic life in the region...

[Hamidi] The concept of distance is indeed very important. Difficulties are experienced when traveling, when trading. But we can say that this is relative. As far as communication links and routes are concerned, the minimum is already there. The airplane—even if it is only a Fokker—lands at the governorate seat. The air field now under construction will enable Boeings to land. The question will be settled in a few months. In-Amenas and Djanet have come out of their isolation. The Boeing lands in both places.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] The airplane does not necessarily imply regional integration.

[Hamidi] There are possibilities... Oil and gas activities exist in the governorate, at In-Amenas. But for them to have a direct repercussion on regional development, a complement is needed. The presence of large Sonatrach [National Company for the Transport and Marketing of Hydrocarbons] bases offers the potential for a large market. But there is no local agriculture to take advantage of this market and to complement the mining sector. It is vital for the governorate to develop agricultural activities, at least to cover its own needs.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] The governor's mission is twofold: to administer the governorate, of which he is the leading official; and to promote its development. Do you not think that the introduction of a multiparty system in local political life will confine the governor to the more traditional and more neutral role of representative of the state?

[Hamidi] We should look at it in a global context. All the reforms and changes that are now taking place in the country's political life affect development in several respects. First, there is a distribution of responsibilities,

which should of necessity be reviewed through a revision of the community and governorate codes, a new distribution of tasks between the state and local communities. This operation will make it possible to increase the responsibilities of local communities...

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] To carry decentralization further?

[Hamidi] That is unavoidable. We shall give up the traditional scheme in which a local community would be content with making proposals, which were submitted for approval to the central administration and came back to the governorate to be implemented... Under the new orientation, it is clear that a local community will be able to decide directly on most of its program, which it shall initiate itself, without waiting for an authorization.

Similarly, at community level, there will be a broadening of responsibilities in favor of elected officials. It is, therefore, necessary to build up communal technical services, to enable the communal assembly to carry out its decisions under the best possible conditions.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] Finding managerial personnel was a problem for communities long before democratization...

[Hamidi] It is not quite the same thing as before. Before, most of the investment went to what is called the sectorial program, i.e., following the governor's indication. The small part that was left to community initiative accounted for minuscule operations: health care room, post office branch... The community would receive help from district technical services, through the subdivisions.

Finally, at legislative level, the governor could substitute for the community executive power if the latter failed, and manage in its place.

This will no longer be possible when the current changes are completed. It is clear that the community will have to implement its program, based on which it was elected. There will be no authority to impose a different program. That is not possible. But the community program, no matter what its political color, must fit in with the main lines of the national development plan. For instance, an assembly cannot just take all of its budget and spend it all on one sector...

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] Unless it was elected based on such a promise...

[Hamidi] I do not believe that the people or the electorate could go to such extremities.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] How do you see relations between the governor and the future APC [People's Communal Assemblies]? What form do you think they will take?

[Hamidi] Under the present code, as I already said, the governorate can substitute for the community if the

latter fails. But under the new option, it is clear that as far as development is concerned, the APC alone will be sovereign and will decide on its development program, its opportuneness and implementation. Those who will assess the activity of the APC will be the citizens, the voters. They will have to decide, to approve or disapprove the assembly.

Relations between the community and the governorate or the governor will be of another type. First, the relation of supervision will be purely and simply eliminated.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] Do you believe that we are going toward the elimination of the governors' hierarchic power over communities?

[Hamidi] There is no doubt about it. I believe that there will no longer be any supervision over communities. The only aspect that may be retained, is a control as to legality.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] ...after the fact...

[Hamidi] Absolutely. The governor will not have to go against the will of elected officials, but to make sure that the decisions they have made are legal. But the APC will not have to wait for a decision to be approved in order to implement it.

In one respect, the governor will have as much responsibility as the APC president: in maintaining law and order. Both must cooperate to fulfill this mission.

These are the channels through which communities and governors will be in relations. In the first case, i.e., development, the community must play an essential part. In the second case, the governor has more responsibility.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] In the present system, the Governorate Popular Assembly [APW] seems to be a somewhat redundant body, one whose role is hard to define.

[Hamidi] What you say is somewhat exaggerated. We should make a distinction between what the APW can initiate, using the governorate's own funds, and the proposals it can make concerning the state equipment budget. It has broad responsibilities in the first case, but its power is effectively limited in the second case.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] What difference is there between the relations that may exist between an APC and its president, and an APW and the governor? Does the fact that one is elected and not the other imply that their relations are radically different?

[Hamidi] First, there cannot be any conflict between the APW and the governor, because the APW does not manage directly the way an APC does...

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] Not even a conflict of authority?

[Hamidi] For instance, if the governor believes that a decision made by an APW, as part of its responsibilities, is inconsistent with the law or with the development plan, he may refer the matter to the supervising ministry to have the decision cancelled.

However, considerable problems may arise, both for the community and for the governorate, with respect to resources. Some communities may be lucky enough to benefit from large tax resources because they have the good fortune of having some heavy industry, for instance, on their territory. The project was not initiated by the community; it is an investment of the state, but the community has the benefit of it. The next community may be much more deserving and yet be destitute.

It is good to grant more responsibilities to the assemblies. But it would be better still if this measure were matched with adequate financial means and resources. Otherwise, it amounts to giving responsibilities only on paper. Therefore, we must rewrite fiscal procedures in order to ensure that communities have a minimum of resources.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] In other words, you expect that the governor's development responsibilities may be transferred to elected assemblies, the APC and APW?

[Hamidi] Such a transfer is necessary to provide stakes for local elections. If all powers are concentrated in the hands of the governor, what is the use of having a multiparty system and a plurality of programs? The governor is the representative of the state in the governorate's territory; he is responsible for law and order, the correct operation of public services...

As for the relation between the governor and the APW, it is clear in view of the current political changes that the governor can no longer be a party to setting development priorities, and directly involved in setting them. That would distort the political game. It is even necessary that, in the future, the APW should have an organization at its disposal to carry out its decisions.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] If the governor is no longer involved in development activities, won't that reduce the effectiveness of the assemblies?

[Hamidi] Before, indeed, the governor or the governorate would take over where the feasibility for a community to undertake something would stop. But we should not forget that this reflex had a negative effect, the ever present possibility of relying on someone else. Now, in view of all the changes taking place in the economic sector, in view of the independence of enterprises in particular, the nature of these relations will change. Clearly, from the moment an enterprise—be it a national, communal, or governorate enterprise—becomes independent, it no longer obeys administrative decisions. It will actually have to organize itself, at a local level, to face these changes. Clearly, we can no longer force an enterprise to move to a given community or perform some specific work.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] Is not there the risk that as enterprises become "commercial," it will be at the expense of southern governorates?

[Hamidi] The problem, which concerns especially southern governorates or certain outlying communities, is that, as these changes take place, we must think of another manner for the state to intervene. For instance, by bearing the excess costs resulting from long distances. That way, an enterprise could no longer justify a deficit by saying that it is located in the south. And the state can provide incentives to implement a voluntarist policy in a given region.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] Since October 1988, the people have challenged APC presidents, general directors of enterprises, union leaders... But never the governors. Are these beyond reproach, or are they protected?

[Hamidi] Your question raises several issues. First, most disputes or protests have to do with responsibilities that belong to the community. Second, the governor, unlike the general director of an enterprise, is not directly implied in any specific management. Even governorate enterprises have a general director. Therefore, the governor, unlike the APC president or the general director, does not represent a first level.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] The governor is surrounded with "safety fuses"...

[Hamidi] Yes... Third, when citizens turn to the governorate, what is it for? To have certain administrative papers issued: a permit, a vehicle identification card...

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] There is also housing... and the OPGI.

[Hamidi] The attribution of housing is supposed to be the responsibility of a commission, which includes also elected officials. But often, for objective reasons or reasons assumed to be objective, the governor took over that commission's responsibility under the pressure of specific events, for instance, to rehouse people from shantytowns... It was difficult to ask the commission to meet to rehouse the people we were going to get out of shantytowns. Soon the commission found itself without any agenda to justify a meeting. That does not mean that people do not come to complain to the governorate. But the governor is not directly involved, and does not become a target as such. The only field where the governor can be challenged directly is the management of development programs. But we have never seen a demonstration in front of the governorate to protest, for instance, the fact that the construction of a high school is behind schedule.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] How does the political democratization now in progress manifest itself in the governorate? We have the impression that Illizi is too far from Algiers for anything taking place in the capital to have repercussions here?

[Hamidi] Because of the geographical location of the region, because of the distances involved and its small population, the governorate is not for the moment an important stake for political parties.

The people here have well-defined concerns that cannot be eluded and political parties must take them into account. The development of agricultural land and support operations: drilling wells, communication routes, and tourism.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] Don't the workers at the Sonatrach bases in In-Amenas represent a political stake for political parties?

[Hamidi] Yes, of course. First, because of their numbers. They are close to 10,000. Then, because of their level, as there are many cadres.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] Even though they do not vote in Illizi...

[Hamidi] Yes. Because they can act as a relay, a means of dissemination. This mass comes from all regions of Algeria. And they go back there regularly. Hence their importance...

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] What are the most active parties in the governorate?

[Hamidi] For the moment, the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] and the RCD [Rally for Culture and Democracy]. But there is also the PAGS [Socialist Vanguard Party], although more timidly... And also the FLN [National Liberation Front], that goes without saying. But the parties' activity is mostly confined to Sonatrach bases. Elsewhere, we get the impression that they have trouble gaining a foothold, or that they do not want to.

[ALGERIE ACTUALITE] Are you for or against the presence of governors in political parties?

[Hamidi] I believe that the governor will fulfill his mission better if he remains above the parties. The obligation to maintain reserve must be the rule. The governor cannot be an active member in a political party and at the same time represent the state. His function obliges him to keep at a distance from political parties, so as to be able to discuss with them on an equal footing. The governor must not be party to electoral activities if he is to preserve the state's credibility.

Fundamentalist Groups Increasingly Target Women

90AA0076A Paris LE MONDE in French 19 Apr 90 p 7

[Article by Georges Marion: "Women Are the Favored Targets of Fundamentalist Groups"; first paragraph is LE MONDE introduction]

[Text] Over the past several weeks, attacks against women by fundamentalist groups have increased throughout the country. Faced with this unrest, the FLN [National Liberation Front] is calling for public marches

on Friday 20 April, whereas the FIS [The Islamic Salvation Front] is organizing a "national rally" in front of the presidency of the republic.

One evening, early in April, Zoubida, a 23-year-old pious student, who wears the *hidjab* and very loose clothing, was going to a conference given by the university section of the Communist Party to which she belongs despite her religious convictions. When, accompanied by a few friends, she left the Blida students' housing development where she lives, a half-dozen "bearded men" in gandoura prevented her from taking the bus; they even tried to keep her from proceeding on foot. Zoubida would not stand for it and she walked away. Calling her a "*trollop*", one of the men took out a belt and began whipping her with it. A passing motorist finally succeeded in getting Zoubida and her comrades out of their attackers' clutches.

This attack is rather typical of today's prevailing climate. Aroused by increasingly more scathing preaching, particularly excessive in this "*sacred*" period of the Ramadan, tens of fundamentalists pursue the "*loose woman*" wherever they can, that is to say, the woman who lives outside their standards.

The Single Women Obsession

Even wearing the *hidjab*, without which, it is said in some mosques, "*a woman is akin to being naked*", is not always sufficient protection against the fundamentalists' requirements. The latter profess that a woman cannot live alone without jeopardizing her virtue and being a bad example for her entourage. She must remain under the control of her father or of her husband, if not of her brothers or cousins. Consequently, radical Islamists pay particular attention to students' housing developments, where hundred of young women live free of masculine guardianship.

These past few weeks, incidents have increased in front of students' housing developments in Constantine, Blida, El Alia, Bordj El Bahri, and Mostaganem. The scenario is the same everywhere: fundamentalists control the entrance to the students' housing development, verify the identity of the men who go in, force back male visitors who are not relatives, and try to prevent the young women from leaving after 1800 hours, the curfew after which no "*honest woman*" should venture outside. Likewise, fundamentalists' brigades make the round of the merchants servicing the students' housing developments, threatening them with retaliation if they persist in selling unorthodox books, newspapers and videos.

The single woman obsession can lead to more brutal punitive expeditions. On 8 April, in Sidi Amer, near Bou Saada, a crazed band laid waste to the apartments of four divorced women, throwing their furniture on the sidewalk and setting fire to it. The victims had made the mistake of not going to live with their children after their divorce. According to the most qualified exegetes, Islam has nothing to do with such behavior. But the usual

machismo of Algerian society tolerates very well what the sacred texts do not always forbid explicitly.

On Saturday, several tens of women gathered before the prime minister's headquarters in Algiers to protest the attacks to which they are being subjected. A delegation from the women's associations coordination was received by Prime Minister Mouloud Hamrouche, who told the women that the government was determined not to tolerate attacks against individual freedoms.

Likewise, during a press conference, Minister of Interior Mohamed Salah Mohamedi asserted that his services had received stringent orders to fight "*with the utmost energy all violence which intends to change the behavior of individuals.*"

The Passivity of the Authorities

Rather belated assurances: for weeks, the police have failed to raise a finger to prevent the *bearded men* from policing the entrance to the students' housing developments or, more recently, from intimidating the restaurant owners who continue to be opened for business during the Ramadan. For many Algerians, the passivity of the authorities would be explained by the desire to favor flashes of unrest liable, to facilitate, as a reaction, the rally of the party of fear around the FLN, which is in great need of such a rally. For others, the poor state of the repression against attacks aimed at women would have more commonplace causes: Algerian policemen, like their fellow citizens, would be succumbing to the fundamentalist conservatism which permeates many sectors of society.

As for the women's associations, they appear very isolated. To be sure, the latest attacks gave rise to protest reactions on the part of a few political parties and of two human rights leagues. But the majority of the female population remains quiet, appearing to show—the generalization of the Islamic garb attesting to this fact—a clear leaning toward a more traditional behavior.

BAHRAIN

Government Reports Increase in Bahrainization

44000262A Manama GULF DAILY NEWS
in English 25 Mar 90 p 5

[Article by Reem Antoon: "Ministry Aims for 100pc Bahrainisation by 2000"]

[Text] A target of 100 percent Bahrainisation by the year 2000 has been set by the Ministry of Works, Power and Water.

Bahrainis already account for 82 percent of the ministry's engineers and nationals are undergoing training programmes in various departments.

"We are aiming for 100 percent Bahrainisation by the year 2000," said Minister of Works, Power and Water Majid al-Jishi.

"However that may not come true and we might only achieve 95 percent," said Mr al-Jishi.

Assistant Under-Secretary for Power and Water Affairs, Jamil al-'Alawi said there was a problem with technicians.

"Once they finish a diploma in engineering, they become technicians. However, they need to go for further studies if they want to become engineers," said Mr al-Alawi.

"We are trying to give the technicians better deals and have training programmes to motivate them to stay on," he said.

The ministry has a total workforce of 4,000.

"Bahrainisation depends on the kind of work and its level and is connected with the training, efficiency and qualification of the employee," said Mr al-Jishi.

Another 41 Bahrainis have been employed in island hotels and restaurants so far this year, taking the level to 19 percent in the four and five-star hotels.

By the end of this year, the number of nationals employed in the sector is expected to rise by five percent, according to an island training official.

"If we stay the way we are and maintain this level of output, the total could reach 24 percent," said Specific Council for Training in Hotel and Catering adviser 'Ali Sulaybikh.

The island's 36 hotels were estimated to employ a total workforce of 3,443 in 1989.

Of these, 573 were Bahrainis, some in key positions.

"I reckon that 90 percent of the 2,870 expatriate jobs can be taken up by Bahrainis," said Mr Sulaybikh.

Council figures show that in 1983, 297 Bahrainis were employed in island hotels and restaurants.

"It is a small increase to today's 573, but we can't accelerate the Bahrainisation process in this industry in particular, unless we have the right staff to take over."

Mr Sulaybikh said it was still difficult for the council to encourage men and women to enter the hotel industry.

"Our society is still a little bit hesitant about letting children, especially daughters, to go into this business."

Mr Sulaybikh said the council would try its best to encourage more people to enter the industry, by promoting its positive image.

EGYPT

Shaykh al-Sha'rawi Steps In To Solve al-Rayyan Crisis

*90AA0086A Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF
in Arabic 9 Apr 90 pp 12-14*

[Article by 'Abd-al-Qadir Shuhayb: "Al-Rayyan Embroils Shaykh al-Sha'rawi"]

[Text] From within his jail, Ahmad al-Rayyan has skillfully succeeded in embroiling his Eminence Shaykh Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi.

His eminence the shaykh responded to the request of al-Rayyan's youngest sons to intercede and mediate with the prosecution and the government to agree to a peaceful solution to his problem instead of taking him to court. But after the shaykh had held concerted consultations, Ahmad al-Rayyan refused to give him power of attorney to manage [the al-Rayyan] firm, and insisted that he be released first before any proposals are discussed to settle the crisis peacefully. This attitude is threatening the shaykh's endeavor with failure, because releasing al-Rayyan is in the judiciary's, not the prosecution's, hands.

What is interesting is that Ahmad al-Rayyan has embroiled Shaykh Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi with predetermination. It is Ahmad al-Rayyan who originally asked the shaykh to intervene and mediate to develop a peaceful solution to the problem when he dispatched a family member to ask the shaykh and Dr. 'Abd-al-Sabur Shahin, a most ardent defendant of al-Rayyan family, to visit him in jail so that he may discuss with them new proposals to revive and solve the issue.

His eminence the shaykh, though aware of the difficulty of the task, agreed to the visit and to the mediation by virtue of the failure of all the endeavors throughout the past two years to develop a peaceful solution, especially since al-Rayyan has refused to reveal the size of his assets abroad and the locations of these assets. He has even withdrawn a previous confession stating that he has considerable assets abroad! All al-Rayyan has transferred into the country in the past two years amounts to just \$40,000. Even when Bob Walker, al-Rayyan's attorney abroad, asked al-Rayyan to send him an authorization to remit \$100 million, al-Rayyan refused to grant the request unless he was released first. Al-Rayyan has also refused to reveal where he has concealed what he owns.

Peaceful Solution Proposals

Despite this, Shaykh Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi responded to Ahmad al-Rayyan's call because he has been motivated by the hope to alleviate the suffering of al-Rayyan family and of 1,800 other families who deposited their money with al-Rayyan and who have been drained by the wait to regain this money. The only condition the shaykh

made was that the government agree to his mediation, something which the government did not withhold from him.

After Shaykh Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi and Dr. 'Abd-al-Sabur Shahin paid a three-hour visit to Ahmad al-Rayyan in jail, the negotiations produced a number of proposals which the two men submitted to the attorney general on 22 March 1990 to solve the problem peacefully. The most important proposals were:

- Release Ahmad al-Rayyan temporarily from jail for a period of six months during which time he manages his firm's affairs while agreeing that the dossier of the lawsuits pursued against him will not be closed.
- Shaykh al-Sha'rawi and Dr. Shahin express their readiness to go to jail as hostages instead of al-Rayyan during his temporary release.
- A sum of 100 million pounds will be returned from abroad to operate the gold shops, to finish the apartments built by al-Rayyan to be sold to Arabs studying in Egypt, and to operate a number of projects.
- Dispose of the firm's unproductive assets through sale so as to reduce the number of deposits or to partly repay some of the deposits with in-kind payments, as other investment companies have done.
- The government will give the firm facilities, such as simplifying the licensing procedures and urging a number of establishments—such as the press establishments—to pay the firm the debts they owe it until it is able to stand on its feet.

Feeble Offer

Thus, the three-hour negotiations in Turrah [Prison] persuaded al-Rayyan to return only 100 million pounds (\$30 million) from abroad in return for his release. Moreover, the government would relinquish all the debts he owes it and will provide him with all possible assistance.

Compared to al-Rayyan's other proposals, this offer is very feeble. A few months ago, Ahmad al-Rayyan offered to get nearly \$120 million from his attorney abroad in return for his release for 45 day only. Two years ago, he offered to transfer \$440 million from abroad in return for extending the period of grace legally allowed him to submit the papers on reconciling his firm's conditions. Al-Rayyan did, of course, back down on all those offers afterward.

However, the prosecution did not refuse to discuss the new offer produced by Shaykh al-Sha'rawi's mediation with al-Rayyan. The discussion led the prosecution to conclude that it could not release Ahmad al-Rayyan because he is imprisoned on court decisions and that the same applies to Ahmad's brother whose prison term is about to end. The prosecution expressed its readiness to release only al-Rayyan's father if the new mediation succeeded.

As for incarceration of Shaykh al-Sha'rawi and 'Abd-al-Sabur Shahin as hostages in the place of Ahmad

al-Rayyan, the prosecution did not consider this proposal because it is illegal and because it is an emotional proposal intended to bolster the request for releasing Ahmad al-Rayyan.

The prosecution did not object to the other proposals, including the proposals to sell the firm's unproductive assets. But it proposed that al-Rayyan give Shaykh Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi the power of attorney to supervise the implementation of these proposals. His eminence the shaykh and Dr. 'Abd-al-Sabur Shahin agreed to this proposal.

Al-Rayyan Let Down Shaykh

But Ahmad al-Rayyan let down his eminence the shaykh and refused to give him the proposed power of attorney on the pretext that he fears for the shaykh "from the burden of foreign transactions," even though al-Rayyan himself had made the shaykh a similar offer prior to his imprisonment two years ago. But the shaykh refused at the time to let al-Rayyan give him the power of attorney and suggested that he write the authorization in the name of the minister of economy, the Central Bank governor, and the Securities Market chairman. All three men turned down the proposal at the time.

In his consultations with Shaykh al-Sha'rawi, al-Rayyan insisted that he had to be released first and he was not content with the release of his father or his brother.

Despite this, his eminence the shaykh did not wash his hand of the mediation and carried on with it. Ten days ago, he and Dr. 'Abd-al-Sabur Shahin presented new proposals to the prosecution after the shaykh declined in writing the proposed power of attorney from al-Rayyan out of respect for the reservation expressed by those who love him and care for his health.

The new proposals include all the previous proposals. But the proposal on releasing Ahmad al-Rayyan has been modified into a new proposal which calls for ending all the lawsuits pursued against al-Rayyan until one of two things happens: either an appeals court reversal of the [lower] court decisions issued against him or the issuance of a presidential pardon for him! Meanwhile, his father, Tawfiq, and his brother, Muhammad, would be released so that one of them may participate in the firm's new board of directors. It has been proposed that this board be formed of representatives of the prosecution, the depositors, and the al-Rayyan family.

The new list of proposals also includes a demand for more facilities from the government for the firm, such as tax and insurance exemptions.

Prosecution's Request

Even though Ahmad al-Rayyan has refused to give Shaykh al-Sha'rawi the power of attorney, the prosecution has continued to negotiate with him and has displayed great flexibility in approving the proposals on reforming the board of directors, on releasing al-Rayyan

senior, and on providing all possible facilities to the new board of directors so that it may operate the firm's projects and sell some of its unproductive assets.

All the prosecution has asked is that Shaykh Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi assume chairmanship of the new board of directors so that he may supervise implementing the proposals on reviving the firm and repaying the depositors' money. The prosecution has also expressed reservation on ending the lawsuits pursued against Ahmad al-Rayyan and proposed that these lawsuits be postponed temporarily until al-Rayyan proves that he is serious in his effort to provide the necessary liquidity to operate the firm's projects and to repay the depositors.

But this has not ended the dilemma in which Ahmad al-Rayyan has put Shaykh al-Sha'rawi. Both have rejected the prosecution's proposal that his eminence the shaykh head the new board of directors. Al-Rayyan has even expressed reservation on Shaykh al-Sha'rawi's new proposals because they do not include a frank proposal to release him "temporarily," and he has rushed to request that the case be transferred to the socialist prosecutor, as has been done with other investment firms.

Even if Ahmad al-Rayyan agrees to Shaykh al-Sha'rawi's assumption of the firm's chairmanship, I doubt that this will end his eminence's dilemma. It will perhaps make it worse because all al-Rayyan has promised is that he will get two million pounds monthly [from abroad] and, perhaps, reopen the gold shops and finish the Arab students' apartments. This means, of course, that the depositors' money will be repaid over a period of 76 years! The dilemma may get even worse if the government releases Ahmad al-Rayyan and if he then flees abroad or at home. The depositors' wrath will be then turned on his eminence the shaykh, and this wrath will not be lessened by the fact that the people will blame the government for responding to the shaykh's request out of appreciation for his person!

Future of Extremist Movement Discussed

90AA0021A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH
in Arabic 15 Mar 90 p 4

[Article: "Extremism: Has It a Future in Egypt?"]

[Text] Dr. Kamal Abu-al-Majd, a member of the People's Assembly from the coalition in Asyut, who is at times accused of advocating violence, emphasizes that the violence will continue as long as state agencies and individuals persist in their current behavior.

In his opinion, state agencies entrusted with safeguarding the law and its preeminence violate the law, undermine court rulings, defile sanctity, and falsify the will of the electorate. They tolerate widespread corruption and are incapable of devising alternatives for closing the budget deficit, reducing inflation, improving output,

lowering consumption, and understating the trappings of luxury. All this is the result of flawed management, planning, and oversight.

Dr. Habib denounces *shari'ah* [Islamic law] legalized extremism, since an abomination can be physically challenged only during the actual commitment of the act. No Muslim is to physically preempt an abomination or redress it after it is accomplished. Physical force can be used only when necessary, and then to remove the abomination in a manner that does not result in a worse abomination. He emphasizes, however, that ending state extremism would mean cessation of individual extremism.

The Problem Is Economic

General Ahmad Jalal 'Izz-al-Din, dean of graduate studies at the Police Academy, believes that extremism, as old as time, is related to fanaticism which is a psychological propensity to cling to certain notions and refuse to abandon or debate them.

He says that all divine religions have their share of extremists. Judaism has the Haredim, and Christianity has "Warriors for Jesus the King" in Spain. Islam also has extremists of all faiths.

The emergence of extremism in Egypt was nourished in large measure by the economic problem, the state's failure to fulfill promises to citizens, especially the young, and the frustration Egyptians feel when they, thanks to the information revolution, compare their lot with that of other peoples.

Mapping out acts of violence reveals that they are basically concentrated in poor neighborhoods that developed haphazardly, such as Heliopolis, al-Munirah in Imbabah, and other poor, services-starved neighborhoods of al-Minya governorate.

Extremism is likely to expand in the 90s, especially in the Third World, because problems of the poor south will not be solved by rapprochement between east and west. Fanaticism therefore emerges in an attempt to assert personality and identity, according to writer Muhammad Sayyid Ahmad, member of the central committee of the al-Tajamu' [Grouping] Party.

We are yet to reach our objectives of becoming masters of our own destiny in Egypt. We get bounty where we seek a degree of scarcity, and suffer scarcity when we need abundance. For instance, we have an abundance of people and a scarcity of housing; an abundance of desert and a scarcity of water. This shows how difficult it is for us to control variables in our society, and herein lies the danger. A society in control of its variables is capable of defusing extremism.

The Problem Is Social

The problem is social at its core. Egyptians are heavy consumers but they are underachievers of production and development. This kind of social behavior is the

outcome of poor education and faulty upbringing resulting from political failure in management and planning, according to Dr. Khalid 'Abd-al-Qadir 'Awadah, professor of geology at Asyut University, which recently witnessed repeated extremist acts of violence.

He adds that the polarized concepts and the lack of understanding between people and their rulers have stagnated their mutual interaction within the social framework. It has gotten so that any wish or recommendation expressed by the people is met with government neglect and every government endorsement is met with the ultimate manifestation of civil disobedience: citizen passivity.

The outlook for Egyptian extremism in the 1990s would depend on the extent to which the country succeeds or fails in promoting development and creating worthwhile job opportunities for young people.

Dr. Jalal Amin, economic theoretician and professor at the American University, adds that the growth of extremism is fundamentally propelled by the sense of futility young people feel towards their social and economic future.

Positive Indicators

Dr. Kamal Abu-al-Majd, professor of law, Islamic theologian, and former minister of information, is very optimistic because Islam is merciful.

He says that fanaticism will not disappear, but neither will it spread further. As far as the Islamic world is concerned, he expects that there will be more moderation and less extremism as barriers between peoples come down and as Muslims realize that they must be open to the world of which they are part. If they don't, they will be isolated, sequestered, and at risk of being totally lost. That is one reason why most Muslims will seek positive and friendly relations with others.

Many Islamic leaders realize that it is necessary to correct the world's dim view of Islam.

The election of several Islamic movement delegates to representative councils means that the philosophy of integration into society has succeeded at the expense of isolationism. It would be wise to utilize this success in the service of Arab and Islamic societies by terminating forever the tragedy of confrontations between governments and Islamic movements.

Dr. Abu-al-Majd added that there is growing awareness of the need for integration [into society], and that this awareness will eventually liquidate the role of groups that are satisfied with being in existence and with blaming others, are withdrawn from day-to-day life, and are oblivious to the larger objectives of Islam.

There Is Need for a National Scheme

A study titled "Political Violence in Egypt between the Potential for Assimilation and the Possibility of Confrontation," by Hasanayn Tawfiq, assistant professor of political science at Cairo University, includes proposals for dealing with the problem of political violence. The most important of those proposals is the implementation of a national scheme for development and renaissance.

A national scheme, no matter how clear, how defined, or how popular, would be meaningless unless championed and espoused by an effective political system capable of initiative and competent at implementation policies.

Specific measures must additionally be taken to reduce the current show of violence by abrogating the Emergency Law and the other freedom-restricting laws and regulations, respecting court rulings, resolving inflation and unemployment problems, and adopting a reasonable policy of subsidies.

The Muhammad 'Abduh Model

Dr. Jalal Amin volunteered that a change in economic policy for real development would be closely tied to the emergence of intellectual alternatives to prevailing ideologies. He said that in his opinion, the optimum model for revitalization would be the Muhammad 'Abduh tradition of respect for heritage and commitment to national identity with simultaneous respect and appreciation for the outside world and recognition of its accomplishments; an attitude spontaneously adopted by moderate Egyptian youths.

Extremism could be restrained, according to Dr. Kamal Abu-al-Majd, by carefully sorting out the various tributaries of the Islamic movement and by not lumping them all in one category. The Islamic movement should be encouraged to participate in order that it may gain first hand awareness of existing problems and their real scope. Security procedures should be [minimized and] kept within the parameters necessary to maintain order and take outlaws to task.

He called upon Islamic movement leaders to emphasize thought and behavior guidance, rectify Muslim outlook towards life, and correct the way they view themselves and others, because amity is the essence of relationships.

The Example of Iran

Dr. Khalid 'Udah suggests reform on the premise that anyone who sets out to create a new group, initiate an ideology, or encourage a judicial [Islamic] dissension would be sowing strife among Muslims.

Look what harshness and violence did to Iran which, at the time of its revolution, had material and moral resources and the capability to enter the atomic age, he admonished those who imagine that they can push matters to the point that propelled the Islamic revolution in Iran. The style of implementation, not principles or objectives, were the cause of Iran's remission.

Gen. Dr. Ahmad Jalal 'Izz-al-Din believes that the laws treat the symptoms of violence when they should be dealing with its roots. He emphasized that Egypt is not the only country with an Emergency Law. Britain enacted such a law in 1971 and has been renewing it annually every year since. He believes that security actions are necessary in the absence of an alternative that can cap this phenomenon.

Dr. Muna Makram 'Ubayd, member of the supreme authority of the New Wafd party, believes that the regime, to be successful in suppressing the violence phenomenon, must not use force alone, but should also respond to the concerns of the middle class, which supplies extremist religious and leftist organizations.

She emphasizes that parties as well as the political system lack the vision young people need to defuse their counteractions, frustrations, and alienation.

ISRAEL

US Aid Calculated as Percentage of Israeli GNP 44000267 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 17 Apr 90 p 3

[Text] According to a report by the Israeli Institute of Applied Economic Policy Research, US aid to Israel in 1990 will total 12 percent of Israel's total GNP [gross national product]. The report adds that this aid contributed significantly and positively to strengthening Israel's security, as well as to balancing its budget, lowering its balance of payments deficit, and maintaining a high level of social services, though US aid had a negative affect as well because of the growth of the services sector in the Israeli economy.

Dangers of Military Cuts Described

44230110D Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 18 Feb 90 p 7

[Article by Uri Shahar]

[Text] The defense minister sees no slowdown in the arms race in the Middle East. It can be assumed that his estimate is based on information on contractual commitments for the development, production, and acquisition of combat means between the Arab states and arms suppliers in the world.

The surpluses of weapons and military equipment being made available as the East-West thawing process deepens will be within reach of any seeker at lower than current prices. A significant portion of this potential is based on first-rate qualitative technologies. The Yom Kippur War taught us a simple lesson. Quantitative military power has a qualitative dimension that is liable to reduce the qualitative gap between us and the Arab armies. Another large-scale war, in which Israel might find itself involved in the future, is liable to teach us a much more important lesson: Military power on a large quantitative scale that is based on first-rate qualitative technologies reduces the gap to the extent of precluding

a subduable capability on the part of numerically inferior forces that enjoy a relative advantage regarding the quality of the manpower bearing the brunt of combat.

The chief of general staff recently stated that the cuts in the Army are liable to be expressed in the amount of losses in a future war. The cut's effect on the ability of the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] to perform its missions must also be self-evident. It is more difficult to think and speak about the IDF losing its ability to perform some missions, and we certainly refrain instinctively from talking about the IDF losing its subduable capability. However, not thinking in such terms of disaster is no guarantee that the future's lessons will not show that we erred in the present.

A precise comparison of military force ratios in the Middle East is not needed to confirm the growing trend toward the reduction of the gaps between forces, including qualitative forces. The public, and the Arab states, possess a significant portion of the information. Most if not all of the information is in the possession of some members of the foreign affairs and defense committee and government ministers.

In order to forestall the danger, the defense system evaluated Israel's needs regarding the battle field of the future. A special committee headed by Dan Meridor dealt with these matters in a fundamental way in the previous Knesset. What happened to this committee's recommendations?

The constant cuts in the defense budget have harmed the IDF's size, quality, and ability to perform missions efficiently. Clearly, the military system can testify to advancement and improvement regarding different components of our military capability. However, such testimony produces a tendency to ignore a corresponding improvement in the enemy's capability.

According to media publications, the Air Force commander recently asked the chief of general staff and the defense minister for permission to make a presentation to the cabinet on the seriousness of the effects of defense budget cuts. The request does not indicate a lack of confidence in their ability to present the matter to the senior political echelon. Rather, it indicates an attempt, perhaps in desperation, to give concrete form to the damage accumulating in Israel's air power components.

We know, as do the Arab states, that air power is the decisive component in military power. The Arab states have made, and are making, supreme efforts to strengthen their air forces and systems targeted against our Air Force. They are plucking off the shelves the best technological products related to air combat at a rate and on a scope that indeed indicate a growing threat on their part regarding their ability to successfully attack our territory and defend their own territory. This is liable to affect our Air Force's ability to perform its missions with the speed and efficiency to which we have become accustomed in recent wars. This in turn is liable to also have an impact on the Air Force's rate of losses.

Some would try to invalidate this concern by mentioning that the Air Force, despite the cuts, has managed to acquire new equipment, such as the Apache combat helicopter.

Some would wish to view the acquisition of the Apache as a sign that it is "business as usual" regarding the equipping of our forces. Others would be surprised if this were not a sign of distress. I do not recommend underestimating the second possibility....

Publications of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London estimate that Israel has 630 fighter aircraft, which is probably correct. A very similar number has been published in all previous years. The commander of the Air Force of course has no interest in specifying the exact number. However, the defense minister hinted, more than once, that a certain number of aircraft were placed in live storage in the framework of the cuts.

What does the Air Force commander tell us? That the training hours of our pilots have been reduced. In other words, a trend is developing toward becoming reconciled to the erosion of manpower quality in the most important force component. This is happening when the Arab air forces, according to reliable sources, are following the example of more modern air forces regarding the number of flight hours, nature, and quality of training.

In the time that remains before the budget is approved in April, it is appropriate to weigh the cumulative effects of a perennial budget cut on the ability of the IDF, including the Air Force, to perform its missions in an ordeal. The cost of incorrectly appraising the seriousness of such effects is immeasurable. Weighing these effects would be appropriate if only to make every effort to reach a budgetary arrangement that at least corresponds to the minimum needs presented by the defense system.

PLO Propaganda Targets Right Wing

44230110C Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT
(Supplement) in Hebrew 23 Feb 90 p 12

[Article by Roni Shaked]

[Text] The group that met this week in a house in the Tzameret Habira neighborhood in Jerusalem to listen to Faysal al-Husayni is far from being identified with the left. They asked questions, expressed opinions, and listened to Faysal al-Husayni explain repeatedly that "we are enemies, which is exactly why we should talk."

This was one of the home groups that al-Husayni has recently held as part of a Palestinian propaganda offensive targeting the Israeli scene, which was announced by the PLO this year.

In a series of discussions held by the PLO leadership in Tunis, and subsequently in Cairo, some of which included the participation of personalities from the territories, the participants agreed that there is no chance of reaching an agreement with Shamir. The conclusion

was that it was therefore necessary to attempt to persuade public opinion in Israel and to bring about a political reversal leading to negotiations on a political settlement.

The main lines regarding operational methods were agreed. PLO leaders gave a free hand to residents of the territories in the matter and asked them to supply the organization with ideas and operational methods. "The propaganda offensive has become official PLO policy," explained a Palestinian activist in East Jerusalem, and "if money is needed for this purpose, there will be no problem."

The leaders of the PLO, like Palestinian activists in the territories, understand that tilting the political balance in Israel means changing the fundamental perspective of supporters of the Labor Alignment and those to the right of it. "Let us not waste time continuing to convince the already convinced left," states the activist from East Jerusalem.

According to him, their objective is to gnaw at the peripheries, especially among the religious parties, foremost of which is SHAS [Torah Observing Sephardim]. "I promise you, the day is not far off when we will meet with [Interior] Minister Aryeh Der'i."

One of the first ideas, which was proposed under the influence of Minister 'Ezer Weizmann according to several Palestinians, calls for writing an information pamphlet in Hebrew for distribution to the public in Israel. The pamphlet would focus on the concessions that the PLO has made to date for the sake of peace. Its central message is supposed to be: "Two states for two peoples living in peace."

Work on the pamphlet's wording has already begun in the territories. "We want Israelis to find the right answers in it, and therefore, it is worthwhile to wait a bit more," stated Faysal al-Husayni this week. According to al-Husayni, the pamphlet will be distributed within a month.

Another suggestion made for advancing propaganda efforts entails having one of the public opinion research institutes in Tel Aviv survey Israeli expectations regarding Palestinian efforts to promote peace. The PLO understands that the Israeli public has difficulty believing Palestinian statements that recognize Israel, accept Resolution 242, and renounce terror.

The HA'ARETZ newspaper recently made an offer to the Palestinians that is difficult to refuse. The newspaper suggested that the Palestinians publish a special supplement edited and written by them. The editor of GESHER [Bridge], a Palestinian newspaper in Hebrew, Ziyad Abu-Zayyad, is coordinating the project.

Dr Sari Nusaybah states that "the problem is that HA'ARETZ is directed at a certain segment of the

public, and we want to reach a broader segment of the public; perhaps other newspapers will agree to a similar suggestion."

At the same time, Palestinians have been invited to begin sending articles to the Israeli press.

A group of personalities in Nablus, headed by businessman Sa'id Kan'an, and the General Secretary of the Workers Unions, Sahar Sai'd, took it upon themselves to organize activity among the Israeli public in the Haifa and Hertzliya area.

"Dialogue workshops" have recently been held with activists from the Arab sector in Israel and the "Peace Now" movement. Two weeks ago, one such workshop was held in Haifa with the participation of about 20 residents of Nablus.

Sa'id Kan'an sounds satisfied: "This was one of our most important meetings with the Israeli public. We succeeded in conveying the message that we truly want peace. We are planning to hold an event of this type once every 2 weeks. It is especially important that we, the people of Nablus, speak with Israelis to refute the image of rock and bottle throwing that has been attached to us."

Sahar Sa'id speaks of a series of appearances in kibbutzim and before professional associations in Israel. "We are now appealing directly to the Israeli public. We will invite Israelis to visit Nablus. We asked to begin gathering signatures in meetings for a joint Israeli-Arab petition, but the activists in East Jerusalem told us that they would do this."

The said petition is supposed to include hundreds of thousands of signatures. According to Faysal al-Husayni, it will be distributed in several months. In the meantime, he confirms, there are plans to hold assemblies, meetings, and large demonstrations, such as the demonstration that was held around the wall of the old city in Jerusalem.

The director of the Palestinian Press Office in East Jerusalem, Ibrahim Qar'in, has recently made frequent appearances before the Israeli public. "It is necessary to talk with Israeli society, not with politicians," he states.

About 10 days ago, he appeared on the same dais with Dr Yisra'el Eldar in Jerusalem, and at Kibbutz Ramat-Yohanan next to Tzomet Secretary Martin Sherman. "I am up against a wall," states Qar'in; "it is difficult for me to understand why there is still distrust and fear of Palestinians after the PLO made such a great step forward toward Israel."

The Palestinians are encouraged by statements heard recently from Shlomo Lahat [Mayor of Tel Aviv], Eli Landau, Nisim Ga'on, and Bava' [title of a religious leader of the Jewish community from Morocco] Barukh regarding the merit of discussions with the PLO. A special envoy for the Palestinians visited Bava' Barukh, who agreed to hold a meeting with a delegation of

Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The meeting is supposed to take place after the Bava's return from abroad.

Incidentally, Palestinians in the territories claim that the statement by Bava' Barukh is the fruit of a PLO initiative, after a "softening" operation carried out by personalities from Morocco and Egypt.

The envoy for the Palestinians also visited Eli Landau. "We asked to meet with him," states Faysal al-Husayni, "and I hope that he will agree to receive a delegation of Palestinians."

Among the participants in the Jerusalem home group that was held this week were lawyers, physicians, business persons, and even high officials. The organizer was Ornan Yequti'eli, the deputy mayor of Jerusalem and a member of CRM [Citizens' Rights Movement]. In general CRM members are demonstrating very active involvement in organizing these meetings. On more than one occasion, they have organized them in their apartments.

Al-Husayni: "When the idea arose, I turned to Ornan Yequti'eli, and he immediately expressed willingness to help. It became clear to me that it is easier to talk and create understanding in a home group."

Yequti'eli: I invite influential people with ideas from the center of the political spectrum, who can also convey the message to others. The meeting takes place over a cup of coffee and cake. I am doing this as a private individual, on behalf of Israeli interests and certainly not in the service of the Palestinians. This is as clear to al-Husayni as it is to me.

One of the participants in the meeting related that he was impressed by al-Husayni's personality and sophistication. "This was softpedaling; he uses the tactic of a cordial manner to achieve his objective."

Meanwhile, the PLO is intensifying the offensive. Yasir 'Arafat is scheduled to make an appearance soon on Jordanian television that will be directed at the public in Israel. Meetings with Knesset members and politicians from Rabin's camp and those to the left of it are also planned.

Additional possibilities that were raised include the publication of announcements in the Israeli press, and the establishment of joint Israeli-Palestinian bodies for peace. Several Palestinian leaders have recently begun to study Hebrew in order to "talk with the Israelis in their language."

Legal Adviser Harish on Judicial, Affairs
44230110B Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT
in Hebrew 23 Feb 90 p 20

[Interview with the Government's Legal Advisor, Yosef Harish, by Dan Shilon; place and date not given]

[Text] [YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Yosef Harish, why do you have this trouble?

[Harish] Indeed, I too ask myself the same question day and night. In bed at night, I ask this question. But this trouble has stormed me and I am absorbed by it. I am of a mind to continue suffering it.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Even though almost no one says a good word about you?

[Harish] If that is indeed the case—and I would be surprised if it were—it would be the judgement of fate. Each person has his fate. It is even said that a Torah scroll needs luck to be read.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] This does not enhance your honor.

[Harish] What can I do? I did not take this position to win honor and praise.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Isn't your professional prestige important to you? You are passed retirement age. Why don't you retire from your post to save your honor?

[Harish] All who know me, even those who hate me—those who perhaps truly hate me, would acknowledge that honor is not essential in my view. Moreover, it is not even an incidental.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Nonetheless, you are past retirement age. Why don't you say to those who hate you: Thank you very much, I did my thing, now I am leaving?

[Harish] I do not think that a retirement age exists. Even if such an age existed, I still have a ways to go before I reach it, because I have been a judge for 28 years, and the retirement age for a judge is 70. In my opinion, a person's retirement age is when he feels he is no longer at his best as in previous years.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Is this not so in your case?

[Harish] Certainly not. I feel that I am at my best.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] In your opinion, who is breathing down your neck? Who rose against you?

[Harish] To tell the truth—and I know that by saying this I am pouring oil on the fire—my professional haters, who do this for pleasure, are a few people in the press.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Only in the press?

[Harish] I think so. Among all those who have known me since my work as a judge, no one formed impressions and criticism of me that are equal to the way I am currently depicted in the criticism of all kinds of sensation-mongers, a term which I certainly allow myself to use.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Previously, you called some of them "mad dogs."

[Harish] Never.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Never?

[Harish] Never. I value each and every person who does not wish me well. I value them as persons, even as persons who seek good. I only said that, to my regret, I frequently merited newspapers being set on me like mad dogs. Excuse me, I said "prairie wolves." That was my expression. A wolf nonetheless has a good pedigree compared to a dog. Although there were such persons, I still think that the press is the most lofty value for realizing the rule of law and obtaining any appropriate public goal.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Has it not occurred to you that the breathing down your neck was done mainly by those public persons, such as, for example, the secretary of the government, Eliyaqim Rubenstein, who is seeking to take your place?

[Harish] Because of my acquaintanceship with Eliyaqim Rubenstein, I certainly want to hope that he is not one of these people.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Are all of your considerations free of political motives?

[Harish] I would say: not only absolutely, but absolutely absolutely. I myself do not even know my political identity.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] In the 'Ezer Weizmann affair, you supplied a political opinion.

[Harish] In the Weizmann affair there were two aspects: The public-political, in which the affair started, and the criminal aspect, to which the affair subsequently branched out. In my opinion, these two aspects are legal.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Is the political aspect also legal?

[Harish] The political aspect is also legal.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Former Justice Minister Hayim Tzadoq determined this week that you are not at all authorized to judge the political aspect.

[Harish] I greatly esteem Hayim Tzadoq. I bear no ill will toward him except on account of the expression "black day," which he used regarding the bus No. 300 affair. I think that Hayim Tzadoq is completely incorrect.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] However, from where do you derive your authority to submit a political opinion to the government?

[Harish] The rights and obligations of ministers in discharging their office are a pure, legal chapter. Of course, political considerations are also involved in this chapter.

The prime minister did not consult me before he took his political measure regarding Minister 'Ezer Weizmann. I was as surprised as everyone present at the government meeting. However, after the fact, when the affair passed into the legal-criminal domain, and an investigation was

established under my direction, which ended as it did, a question was raised as to whether the prime minister's conclusion in the governmental domain was groundless, based on my determination that not enough admissible evidence existed in the case. This is a legal question, not a political one, even though political considerations enter into it.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] If that is the case, why, after you wrote and published your decision, did you add to it a commentary, whose heading you defined as "political-public"?

[Harish] It was not I who provided the heading. I am responsible for what I stated.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] The words "political-public" came from your mouth.

[Harish] Correct. However, the expression of the opinion was not political. I only wanted matters to be understood correctly.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Hence, is there no reason to return 'Ezer Weizmann to the cabinet, as demanded by the Labor Alignment?

[Harish] There is no justification for returning Mr Weizmann to the cabinet on the basis of the argument that the entire claim made against him is unfounded, as it were. Nonetheless, it is not for me to determine whether it is appropriate to remove him from the cabinet or from the government entirely.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Did the prime minister's bureau or the justice minister exert pressure on you to add a "political-public" commentary to your reasoned decision?

[Harish] This question is truly necessary. I must say that not only were no pressures exerted on me, but I was not even given the slightest hint as to where these two personalities wanted my decision to incline.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Did no minister in the government offer you his opinion regarding the sensitive matter with which you were dealing?

[Harish] There was no such instance, perhaps because they know that I am a former judge, and one does not even whisper lightly into a judge's ear.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Then why do your critics claim that the ministers of the government are using you politically for their own purposes?

[Harish] Once any decision is made on this table, it becomes public, and any interested party is entitled to attempt to use it to his advantage.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] I am referring to the situation before your decisions were made.

[Harish] No one has yet dared to exchange one and one half words with me to persuade me to make a specific decision in any matter.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Do you define yourself as a courageous person?

[Harish] Courageous is a divine attribute. I would commit the sin of immodesty if I were to say that I am courageous by nature. Therefore, I do not say this. I only say that I have already had the chance to perform courageous acts in my life.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] For example, your decision not to try the bank directors?

[Harish] Certainly. Perhaps this is the most courageous decision that I have made here. It was clear to me that I could win the praise of those who hate me and defame me for pleasure by merely picking up a pen or lifting a telephone receiver.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Your decision served several holders of power, wealth, and economic might in the State. Where was the courage here?

[Harish] Holders of power and authority, who were perhaps interested in the exoneration of the bankers, did not dare to exchange a word with me regarding the case. There is no need to say that I have no business with the capitalists themselves, the people of the banks.

The only banker I know is Nitza, the teller at the local bank in my former residence, Holon. But the press moved heaven and earth to direct my opinion toward the guilt of the bankers.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Your courage was expressed in your standing like a lion in the face of public opinion and the press?

[Harish] "Like a lion" is your expression. I stood like Yosef Harish, because that is his way, nature, and character. I stood against the waves of expected criticism, some of which I saw before the decision.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Which criticism was levelled before the decision?

[Harish] They attempted to describe my bent back as the government's legal advisor in comparison to previous advisors. One tried Yehoshua' Ben-Tziyon, the second, Michael Tzur, and they made other such decisions whose rendering truly required the mobilization of every measure of courage. I also knew how the matter would affect me personally and my family, and I do not wish to go into greater detail. Nonetheless, I said: This is my decision, and I must render it.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] In your tenure, is it possible to send to jail a candidate for the governorship of a bank, such as Yadlin, or to try the wife of a prime minister, such as Le'a Rabin?

[Harish] From the standpoint of personal ability, yes—without blinking an eye, without any problem.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] From the standpoint of your public stamina?

[Harish] Certainly, Yadlin would be tried by me as would any other person.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Le'a Rabin as well?

[Harish] Le'a Rabin as well if I came to the conclusion that it is indeed appropriate to try her in that case.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Do I hear doubt in your voice when you speak about Le'a Rabin?

[Harish] I am not expressing any doubt. However, the considerations that faced my predecessor, Professor Baraq, whom I like and esteem, do not face me.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Does State Comptroller Miryam Ben-Porat serve for you as a model of exceptional public courage?

[Harish] Ms Ben-Porat's traits are famous. Her decisions certainly can be an inspiration for others. However, the decisions of the state comptroller require no courage, public or other.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] That is a far-reaching statement on your part.

[Harish] The state comptroller is appointed for a 5-year term by the Knesset. No one can remove the comptroller from his position. The essence of the comptroller's position requires criticism, even trenchant criticism. If he sits and does nothing, not criticizing sufficiently, he is remiss in his duty. If he fulfills his duty—what is the novelty? The novelty is precisely in the position of the government's legal advisor.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Why?

[Harish] The government can remove its legal advisor from his post at any time.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] And this brings us back to the question of the political pressures to which you are subject.

[Harish] Yes, the government's legal advisor is quite subject to pressures, from within and without. One does not daily chance upon a man for this position who disregards internal and external pressures. In this regard, I give myself a light pat on the back.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Me'ir Shamgar and Aharon Baraq were legal advisors who adopted for themselves the "Buzzglow test," according to which Buzzglow and Yadlin are to be judged according to the same criteria. Does this test also guide you?

[Harish] I have no bias. However, the "Buzzglow test" is absolutely unacceptable to me. This test is inherently discriminatory. What is the meaning of the expression

"Buzzglow"? In saying it, we are saying that it is not enough that a poor person is of the wretched of Israel, but that he also has the name of a wretched person: Buzzglow.

Thus, the name Buzzglow is a nice name, no less so than the name Harish, and, if you will allow me, the name Shilon. Buzzglow is not inferior. He is a person and a citizen. However, it is clear that the weak, and the great, rich, and powerful of Israel should be judged according to the same criteria.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Why in your tenure has the institution of the shmu'a [hearing—the announcement of the verdict after it has been recorded and signed] been so worthy of rejuvenation and momentum?

[Harish] Because of the pressure of events in my tenure.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Not the pressure of people?

[Harish] Certainly not the pressure of people. The pressure of events.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] I want to remind you that in Baraq's time, there were also stormy events, such as those involving Yadlin, 'Ofer, Tzur, and Rabin. None of them merited a shmu'a in the legal advisor's bureau.

[Harish] I do not accept that as a fact, because I was not here, and I do not know whether they merited it or not. However, I am sure that any of them, had they requested it, would not have received a negative response. They were entitled to a shmu'a, which, in general, is a precious, most important institution that must be facilitated with an open hand.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Why, upon entering office, did you immediately support the whitewashing of the bus No. 300 affair and the granting of a pardon without an investigation and a trial?

[Harish] Whoever opens the protocols, when the time comes to open them, will find that I insisted, from the start, that a commission of inquiry be established and that the police investigation continue.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Reality was completely different.

[Harish] If so, there are many devices in a man's heart, but the counsel of those who stir the pot shall stand [instead of the counsel of the Lord, as in Proverbs 19, 21]. So it was. I did not know that someone was planning a pardon. I was surprised in the darkness of night, as I returned with several ministers, absorbed in a heated argument with them, during which I was asked about what I would do if the government did not accept my recommendation to establish a police investigation in its meeting on Sunday. I responded: The government would have to start thinking about appointing another legal advisor on Sunday.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Did you threaten to resign?

[Harish] I did not threaten. I indicated the fact.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] They nonetheless disregarded you, and you did not resign.

[Harish] They did not disregard me and there was no need to resign. My recommendation was simply not put into effect, because a higher authority than I, higher than all of us, the president of the State, decided to grant a pardon.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] And you supported this.

[Harish] No.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] However, you were asked to approve the pardon arrangement before an investigation.

[Harish] I had certain observations about the public aspects of the matter. Someone in fact troubled himself to remark to me: Sir, you are the legal advisor, not the advisor on public behavior.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Who was this?

[Harish] I cannot specify. Under the pressure of the hour, I was truly asked whether or not, from a purely legal standpoint, it is possible to grant a pardon before a conviction. I determined that it is possible, and I am pleased that the Supreme Court approved my opinion.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Nonetheless, why did you not cry out about the public aspect? You may recall that you knew to treat the public aspect this week in the Weizmann affair.

[Harish] I did not cry out, because no values of justice in Israel were being tread upon.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Perhaps not values of justice, but certainly values of the government and the public.

[Harish] There were no values of the government and the like. I maintain, with full responsibility, that in weighing the national security interest—according to which state secrets should not come out among lawyers and their secretaries, or in court—against the need to punish people, the national security consideration is preferred. I think that the president of the State decided correctly to grant the pardon based on the situation at the time.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] You are accused of procrastination. Amnon Abramovitz of MA'ARIV writes about you: Harish is the greatest Israeli expert at "sitting and doing nothing." How do you respond to that?

[Harish] I respond by gnashing my teeth. Abramovitz is a talented journalist. However, he has perhaps done me a greater personal injustice than that done by any other journalist. The week I was appointed, before I reached the extolled Salah-al-Din Street, where I ate bitter herbs in recent years, he wrote a half-column list entitled

"Harishi laughter." In other words, Harish's appointment made us laugh. Excuse me Abramovitz if I do not accept that Harish is the greatest expert in "sitting and doing nothing."

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Don't the numbers indicate procrastination in your decisions?

[Harish] Statistics from the period of my work in the court will testify to that.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] You left behind hundreds of unfinished cases.

[Harish] I did not leave hundreds of cases. I left only 30 cases.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Do you define yourself as a "quick decisionmaker"?

[Harish] I am definitely a quick decisionmaker.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Do you have difficulties and do you hesitate when making a decision?

[Harish] No, certainly not. My work as a motions judge in Tel Aviv is well known. Regarding motions, you need to see the end of the case at its beginning. Some cases involved extremely complex matters. I would decide immediately.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Were you surprised when you were offered the position of the government's legal advisor?

[Harish] Absolutely.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] How is it that you agreed immediately?

[Harish] I did not agree immediately.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] It was a very fast process.

[Harish] This only proves that I am a quick decision-maker when necessary.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Why were you surprised when they turned to you?

[Harish] I was surprised, because it is in my nature to always believe that I am incapable of doing a certain task. I always approach everything that I do with the greatest respect. When then Justice Minister Yitzhaq Moda'i turned to me, I answered him by paraphrasing one of his previous statements, saying: "I have only 20 percent of the qualifications for filling the post, but I accept the challenge."

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] You say that you are incapable, but you wanted to be a supreme court judge, and you have not attained that.

[Harish] I definitely intended to attain that. There was an agreement between the justice minister and the president of the Supreme Court to give me a temporary appointment of a year and a half.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] The workers in the Justice Ministry testify to turbid relations between you and the ministry's leadership.

[Harish] I am aware of the opposite. Relations are friendly.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Will the attorneys in your office weep when you go as they wept when Yitzhaq Zamir left?

[Harish] I think not. I do not deserve being wept over, even when I leave the land of the living.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] One receives the impression that Justice Minister Dan Meridor would not mourn your departure, although he does not say so publicly.

[Harish] I want very much to hope that there is no truth to such remarks. However, as I stated, I think that it is inappropriate to mourn over me. I am not indispensable.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Another Justice Minister, Avraham Sharir, stated about you: "I get insomnia when I remember that Harish is the legal advisor.

[Harish] I do not know whether he indeed said that. However, if he did, this only adds to all the trenchant criticism of Sharir and his behavior in public life.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Do they insult you?

[Harish] Yes, they insult me.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] To what extent does this affect your functioning?

[Harish] It has no effect.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Have you developed immunity mechanisms over time?

[Harish] I did not develop them. I think that they already existed. However, I am grieved, because I am a person whose heart is his essence. Pure heartedness, the desire not to wrong another, not to do to another what is hateful to you—this is stamped on me. From this standpoint, this saddens my heart, and I would add, a good and understanding heart.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] During the interview, I saw you becoming very emotional. Perhaps there was even the glaze of tears in your eyes.

[Harish] Where is the glaze of tears? My foot. There was no glaze of tears. I have no glaze of tears because of all the injustices and troubles. I do not feel oppressed. I feel satisfied.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Thank you.

Young Druze Protest Discrimination

44230111B Tel Aviv 'AL-HAMISHMAR
in Hebrew 19 Feb 90 p 8

[Article by Yehuda Tzur]

[Text] If we are to judge by the comments of dozens of Druze youths, Druze youth want to be drafted into the IDF [Israel Defense Forces]. Their reservations are related to their demands to receive the same rights as their Jewish peers.

Hundreds of Druze youths from all the villages in the Galil and the Karmel gathered yesterday morning in the Heyman Youth and Sports Center in 'Akko. The Chief of Staff and senior officers came to respond to their questions. The dissatisfaction regarding their place in the IDF and in Israeli society is noticeable in each successive group of draftees. The draft, which yesterday was accepted as an almost sacred thing, became yesterday something that, while based on law, raises doubts. Many Druze youth no longer accept it as something that is self-evident.

Their foremost demand is to know what are their rights as Israeli citizens. Using tough language, Walid of Peki'in said: "Everyone goes to the IDF, but it turns out that we, the young Druze, are less equal, both in civilian life and in the IDF itself. That's my impression, because I know, for example, that what is accepted with regard to Jewish youth, is an as yet unrealized dream for the Druze. Professor Sofer of Haifa University has stated in a study that was published a few days ago that in another 10 years, the Druze community will be the farthest behind in Israel from the viewpoint of education. And we are seeing that every day in our schools."

Closed Corps

As Walid spoke, dozens of youths gathered around him, each of them trying in his own way to support his statements. All of them are of the opinion that the difference can be seen by visiting the Jewish and Druze schools. "This is something that doubtless has an effect when we are drafted. I am a graduate of the electronics track, but all the routes to enter the Signal Corps, for example, are closed to me. The electronics specializations in the IDF also are closed to the Druze community. This is not fair. Why do we have to go precisely to combat units? The Jews are also divided. Some of them go to the paratroops, and some of them go to the technical corps," said Ganim Samar of Marrar.

Other Druze also complained that the most prestigious corps, which require education and in which it is possible to use to the fullest the potential of the draftees, are closed to the Druze. "The Air Force, Intelligence, Communications, the Naval Commando, the General Staff Scout Unit, are all closed to the Druze. Why do I have to go only to Golani or to the Paratroops? Am I not equal? In combat, a bullet does not differentiate between a Jew

and a Druze, so why do you differentiate between us when we are about to be inducted?" said Sami of Beyt D'jan.

Chief of Staff Dan Shomron told the hundreds of youths, in the large auditorium of the center, that the IDF is opening its corps to the Druze. According to him, this is a slow process, but it is moving forward at a reasonable pace according to the abilities and capability of the inductees. The chief of staff promised that the Druze youths would be inducted into the field of electronics and technical specializations. "And know this: that it is precisely the commando, the most commando, where there are precisely Druze youths. Even if you don't know it."

A Civilian Question

Other questions, aside from the possibility of advancement in the IDF, worry the youths. There were reports that a large proportion of those nearing the draft age are refusing to be drafted. The youths asserted that there are two reasons for this. One reason is "the civilian question. Why must we be drafted into the IDF? To go to the most dangerous corps, and afterwards, when we come back, we don't have rights, no future for young couples, they don't build housing for us. It is very hard to get into higher education. Even the percent of us in the academic reserve is lower than among the Jewish youths. Many among us ask why we must go to the IDF and be drafted. Although most of them come when they have to arrive at the induction center, this is a process that should be taken into account," says Sami from Kafr Kisra.

The second question is political, as Dagesh Assad of Kafr Marrar said: "I think that many don't want to go into the army because of the intifadah. In spite of everything that they try to tell you, the Druze are also Arabs, and it hurts them that they have to go to the territories and beat or kill other Arabs. In my opinion, that's not right, and I justify those persons who don't want to be drafted. While I do it because I have no choice, because there is law in the State of Israel, I understand those who don't want to be drafted."

Alman Nahib, of Kafr Kisra, argued, "We have been serving for 40 years, and until now there were in fact very few who refused to go into the army. However, that does not contradict our deep feeling that we do not, in fact, have the same rights for Jews and Arabs in the State of Israel. It is true that in the army there is no discrimination, but when you complete the service, the deep discrimination begins immediately, and the Druze youths will not keep quiet about this for a long time."

Saker Yakub, of Kafr 'Usfiya, thinks that day after day greater and greater difficulties are being placed in the way of Druze youths who seek an exemption due to the religious question. According to him, the IDF should not make it hard for the Druze youths, "exactly as it does not make it hard for the religious Jewish youths, who receive an exemption without any problems. There is discrimination in that, too."

Four Times to the Territories

Salman Falah, a teacher in Kafr Sami'a and an officer in the reserves, argues that the phenomenon of Druze youths refusing to serve in the IDF is not widespread: "Of all the dozens of soldiers and officers who refused to serve in the territories, there is not one Druze as far as I know. It is true that there are some in prison, because in general persons refuse to be drafted without just cause. But, in my opinion, there is a lot of talk about it, and the phenomenon, as far as I know, is worse in comparison to the size of the population precisely among the Jews. In the IDF, there are two battalions of Druzes in the reserves. In neither of these battalions have I encountered the phenomenon of refusal to serve in the territories. In fact, not long ago the commanders told us with pride that the percent of Druze that report for duty every time that they go to the territories is higher than the percent of Jews. Our battalion has gone to the territories four times a year since the beginning of the intifadah. There was not one case of someone refusing for diplomatic or political reasons."

Druze youths, who heard the teacher's words, waited until he had moved away in order to say, "As long as the intifadah continues, there will be more youths who won't want to serve. Meanwhile, it is true that few are involved, and it's not the same in every village. But it is a phenomenon that will grow and broaden. It's natural, because more and more are thinking that the Druze are also Arabs. If you were to give us more rights, the thing would have been solved a long time ago."

Watid of Beyt D'jan says: "I think that the problem is not political, not diplomatic, not religious. It is a problem of rights. If we have rights as the Jews have, believe me that the phenomenon of refusal to serve in the IDF will generally decrease, and will almost disappear. The Druze are tired of promises. Even at this conference, they promise us a lot about rights, but everyone knows what happens after army service. They forget the promises, and we are like the Arabs. This must be prevented, by giving rights to everyone. Druze as well as Jews."

Black Hebrews Problem Continues

44230111C Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 20 Feb 90 p 7

[Article by Amir Rosenblitt]

[Text] The problem of the "Black Hebrews," who live in ghettos of a sort in Dimona, 'Arad, and Mitzpe Ramon, pops up in the headlines once every few months, like a recurring natural phenomenon. A few heart-breaking stories in the press, one or two parliamentary questions in the Knesset, a television report—with a lot of color, festive declarations—and the affair again plunges to the depths of oblivion, until the next time.

The outbreak of a measles epidemic among the "Black Hebrews" community raised anew the problem that some have been trying to sweep under the carpet for the

past 20 years. For about 20 years, a community numbering several thousand persons (their exact number is not known) has been living in the State of Israel in violation of the law and without any status. About 10 years ago, on the recommendation of the Knesset Interior Committee, a special committee was appointed, headed by the lawyer—then MK [Knesset Member]—David Glass, in order to attempt to find a solution to the problem. In the chapter with its conclusions, it is stated, inter alia: "The problem of the Black Hebrews is mainly the result of a continuing negligence on the part of the Government of Israel over the past 10 years." (the report was submitted in 1980).

The negligence on the part of the Israeli Government is, in fact, continuing to this day. One outcome of this is that the members of the dark-skinned community are all criminals, because their residence in Israel is illegal. The Black Hebrews do not have any official documents and no identifying documents, which is, in itself, an infringement of the law. The authorities are not willing to give them housing rights, and the crowding in the quarters of the sect in Dimona, in 'Arad, and in Mitzpe Ramon is extremely serious. As they are not identified, and, in any event, there is no police supervision over them, criminal elements from foreign states can be swallowed up in one of the concentrations of the sect without being uncovered.

The members of the sect do not report deaths to the Ministry of the Interior and Health, as required by law. The Black Hebrews maintain an independent system of education, and the Ministry of Education and Culture has no connection whatsoever with it. That is, we have here an open infringement of the education laws in Israel. Those who employ members of the sect are also, in fact, breaking the employment laws. The members of the sect are themselves considered, of course, as law-breakers, because every person who holds a tourist visa must receive a special labor permit from the Ministry of the Interior. Such a permit was never given to them, or to the holders of visas among them.

The Glass Committee's report indicates the sect's sanitary conditions and its internal system of health. "From the day they arrived in Israel," the report states, "it was proposed to the Black Hebrews that they receive public medical and health services, but they refused this, while preferring to use 'natural' methods of healing. All attempts by city leaders and health authorities to get them to accept medical care were unsuccessful. Only in life-threatening cases did they agree to send the sick to hospitals." And this happened again this week. Only after the infant Ira Bat Yisra'el had died of measles did the leader of the sect, Ben-Ami Carter, allow the large vaccination campaign of the Ministry of Health, which is continuing and encompasses hundreds of local children.

The report states further: "The health conditions of the 'Black Hebrews,' especially the great crowding, are liable, despite the maintenance of a reasonable level of hygiene, to cause serious health hazards, including the

outbreak of epidemics....The Ministry of Health has warned of this danger more than once." This report, which was written about 10 years ago, is more to the point than ever.

Carter and his flock happily accepted the main points of the report, and awaited its speedy implementation, as its bottom line spoke of the need for a solution of the problem by means of establishing a community settlement in the Negev, which—while subject to the supervision of the settlement institutions—would provide a measure of autonomy to the members of the sect. But the sect's members waited for nothing. Under the pressure of political and public factors (headed by the public body operating in 'Arad for the return of the Black Hebrews to the United States), widespread opposition arose to the Glass Report. Then Minister of the Interior Yosef Burg, who had established dozens of committees during his tenure, decided at a certain stage to shelve the problematic report. Since then, no one has again discussed its findings.

Years have passed, and the problem of the "Black Hebrews" sank from public consciousness, aside from occasional press reports of internal feuds within the sect and confrontations between its members and the residents of Dimona. Ben-Ami Carter continued stubbornly and persistently to run the life of his community as far as possible from the investigating eyes of unsympathetic journalists and ordinary strangers. The police, the Ministry of the Interior, the U.S. Embassy in Israel—all of them know very little about what is going on within this closed body. Meanwhile, a new generation of members has been born in Israel. They live in Dimona, in 'Arad, in Mitzpe Ramon, and in small concentrations throughout the country, speak Hebrew, and are not acquainted with the United States, aside from what their teachers in the sect preach to them. The Ministry of the Interior estimates their numbers at several thousands. The sect members themselves prefer to remain silent on this issue.

The members of the committee for the expulsion of the sect from Israel, headed by David Maimon and 'Amit Karni, say: "We have nothing against them as human beings. We oppose them as a cohesive, anti-Semitic sect, whose goal is to conquer the country and to remove us. We learned this from their internal publications, and from the study materials that are taught in the sect's schools." Ben-Ami Carter, a charismatic man, polite and pleasant, admitted in a recent discussion with me that one of the sect's members, Shalih Ben Yehuda, had written a book attacking the State of Israel and the Jews a short time after the first wave of the "Black Hebrews" arrived in Israel in 1969. "I do not deny anything that Shalih Ben Yehuda wrote. He published the book before I arrived in Israel. After I learned of the book's contents, I said to him that I, as a Jew loyal to the State of Israel and to the people of Israel, do not agree with him. I informed him that if he wanted to remain among us, he would have to withdraw the book, and he, indeed, did so."

There is no way of knowing how matters will develop in the future. Yad'a Bat Yisra'el, Carter's right-hand person and the sect's spokeswoman, told us this week that she "sees the light at the end of the tunnel," as the minister of the interior, Arye Der'i, according to her, and in contrast to his predecessors, is at least interested in what is going on among the sect and in the problems of its residence in Israel without any status. For the moment, the tension still exists between the members of the community and their neighbors and the immigration authorities.

The the Ministry of the Interior spokeswoman, Tova Ellinson, said in response that Minister of the Interior Arye Der'i had appointed a committee six months ago to examine the cruel aspects of the residence of the Black Hebrews in Israel in violation of the law. According to her, the committee recently submitted interim recommendations for assistance on a humanitarian and personal basis to the members of the sect with regard to work permits. She also said that the problem is not only Israel's, but also that of the United States, and that Minister Der'i had met with the U.S. ambassador to Israel, William Brown, in order to find a mutually agreeable solution.

Until a solution is found, an entire community continues to live in Israel without any status. The problem can no longer be swept under the carpet. Israel must decide one way or the other. Otherwise, the problem will pop up in all its seriousness, and its echoes will be heard both within and without Israeli society.

Night-Vision Apparatus Developed

44230110A Tel Aviv *YEDI'OT AHARONOT*
in Hebrew 18 Feb 90 p 22

[Article by Avraham Dishon: "Air-Borne Television Camera Capable of Filming in Darkness"]

[Text] The Orleyl [night light] Factory in Qatzrin for the development and production of night-vision systems for military and civilian purposes recently developed a special aircraft-borne television camera. The camera is capable of filming locations on the ground in conditions of darkness.

The images are stored on cassettes or transmitted during filming to remote positions on the ground.

The Orleyl Factory employs 40 workers. Its sales last year totalled about \$4 million. The factory's innovative development, which is revolutionary in the field of night vision worldwide, will substantially increase the factory's sales, mainly to elements abroad.

Eytam Investment Company owns 48 percent of the Orleyl Factory, Israel Aircraft Industries owns 26 percent of it, and a large American company, considered the world leader in night vision, owns 26 percent of it.

The company's chairman, Eli Shiloni, who is also the general manager of the Eytam Company, confirmed the

factory's original development. For commercial reasons, he was not willing to confirm additional details regarding the apparatus and export orders for it.

Doctors Visit Female Political Prisoners

44230120D Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 8 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by Natan Ro'i]

[Text] A committee on behalf of the Israel Physicians Union has refuted assertions of international organizations about harsh and inhumane treatment of female Palestinian security prisoners. On 7 January 1990, a committee of the Israel Physicians Union, headed by Dr. Ram Yishay, Professor Moshe Wolman, and attorney Simha Kaizman, visited the Sharon Prison, where the female security prisoners are kept.

The aim of the visit was to evaluate complaints that had been submitted in letters that reached the chairman of the Physicians Union from various bodies and organizations in Israel and the world. The assertions related to the sanitary and nutritional situation in the female security prisoners' wing in general and to the personal health of a number of prisoners. The visit was accompanied by Dr. Ya'akov Ziegelboim, the physician of the Prisons Service, and by Dr. Ya'akov Kipris, the prison physician. The committee heard a report from the doctors on the conditions in the prison, on sanitation, and on dietary matters, and afterwards visited the female security prisoners' wing. Finally, ailing female prisoners were examined by a doctor on the committee. Some of the results of the visit are given below:

- The assertion that the diet is insufficient or unbalanced is not correct. A number of female prisoners complain about the taste of the food, and request that they be allowed to prepare the food themselves. The prison administration opposes this for security and safety reasons.
- Each female prisoner has four blankets, and it is possible to receive one or two additional ones upon request. Wind penetrates from a number of windows through a crack between the pane and the window (the pane is made of plastic, after the glass panes were broken). The prison administration announced that it would block the wind with sealing material.
- A number of female prisoners complain about insufficient clothing. At the time of the visit, most of the female prisoners wore running suits (they were engaged in a volleyball game at the time). The prison administration stated that it was ready to supply additional clothing, but the female prisoners refuse to accept it from the prison and request clothing from home.
- In contrast to the old wing (where the ordinary prisoners live), the female prisoners' wing is not especially crowded, and two to five female prisoners live in the rooms (cabins).

The ailing female prisoners agreed to be examined by a member of the committee, and the examination did not reveal anything aside from what was recorded in the medical file.

Emergency Water Regulations Decreed

44230120C Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 11 Mar 90 p 3A

[Article by Hayim Be'or]

[Text] Emergency regulations for the water economy will be decreed starting 1 April throughout Israel, except for the Negev.

At the end of last week, it was decided at an extraordinary session chaired by Water Commissioner Tzemah Yishay that, due to the meager rainfall in the north and the low level of the Sea of Galilee, the water quotas both for agriculture and for personal consumption would be cut through all of Israel north of the Ashqelon-Kiryat Gat road.

In the regions between the Ashqelon-Qiryat Gat road and the imaginary line from Tzemah to Akko, water quotas for agriculture and private consumption will be cut by 7 percent. North of the Tzemah-Akko line, the water quotas for agriculture will be cut by 15 percent, while the quotas for personal consumption will be cut by 7 percent.

A fine of up to three times the cost of a cubic meter of water will be imposed on any farmer who deviates from the quota.

The Water Commissioner told HA'ARETZ last night that while the pumping of water from the Sea of Galilee will be resumed in 10 days, the quantity pumped will come to 170 to 180 million cubic meters of water, in contrast to almost twice that amount in rainy years, due to the scanty rainfall and the low level of the sea (2.5 meters below the optimum).

At the meeting chaired by Yishay Tzemah, in which representatives of Mekorot, TAHAL [Water Planning for Israel], and the Hydrological Service participated, it was reported that in the region of the Sea of Galilee only 60 percent of the average annual rainfall had fallen by the beginning of March. At the same time, the two reservoirs in the central mountains are in a "borderline" state—that is, half-full.

In the region between Jerusalem and Be'er Sheva, 95 percent of the average annual rainfall had fallen by the beginning of March. In Be'er Sheva and south of it, the rainfall came to 80 percent of the annual average. In contrast, 115 percent of the annual average rainfall had fallen on the coastal plain by the beginning of March.

Goals of Hamas Outlined

*44000260 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST
in English 30 Mar 90 p 6*

[Article by Joel Greenberg]

[Text] In a leaflet issued this week marking the start of the month-long Ramadan fast, Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement, called on Palestinians to wage "a month of continuous jihad against the occupiers."

The Muslim fundamentalist group called for stepped-up violence against Israel, including the overturning and burning of Israeli vehicles and arson attacks on Israeli "installations."

The Ramadan leaflet left no doubt about the unabated militancy of Hamas, which has maintained its uncompromising positions in the face of attempts by the PLO to engage in pragmatic diplomacy.

More than 27 months after the start of the intifadah, and after repeated waves of arrests which have put many of its leaders in jail, Hamas remains unwaveringly dedicated to holy war against Israel for the liberation of all of "Palestine" and the establishment of an Islamic state.

A living example of the resilience of Hamas's ideas is 37-year-old Jamil Hammami, of Anata, near Jerusalem, considered to be a senior local activist of the movement.

Hammami this month completed a year-and-a-half prison term after being convicted of distributing leaflets and money for Hamas. He shared a cell in the Ashaelon prison with Palestinian activists of the Islamic Jihad and Lebanese members of the Hizballah movement. He has emerged from prison as hardened a believer as he was before his incarceration.

Hammami is currently an employee of the Waqf (Islamic Trust) administration in Jerusalem. Born in Ma'an, Jordan, he completed a B.A. in Islamic law at the major Islamic institution of higher learning in the Arab world, Al-Azhar University.

His reputation as an Islamic activist was evident during our conversation, which was repeatedly interrupted by the arrival of well-wishers coming to greet him after his release. A prominent visitor was Ra'id Salah, mayor of the largest Israeli Arab town, Ummel-Fahm. Sal'ah won the last municipal elections as a representative of the fast-growing Islamic Movement, which scored important gains among Israeli Arabs.

A conversation with Hammami reveals a rigid, uncompromising and simply defined world-view. His description of the roots of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the means to resolve it are anchored in a fundamentalist Islamic interpretation of history.

The interpretation is in many ways a mirror image of similar fundamentalist views of the Arab-Israeli conflict held by Jewish religious extremists.

"The Jews," said Hammami, "have no historical or political roots in Palestine. All the talk of continuous Jewish links to this country are false rumour. It is known that the Jews only had a state here in one period, at the time of the Samarian kingdom."

"Palestine is Islamic land in its entirety, and it is impossible to concede any part of it. Neither the PLO nor any Arab state has the authority to make concessions with regard to Palestinian soil."

The only political solution, according to Hammami, is the establishment of an Islamic state in all of Palestine, which would become part of a larger Islamic state that would ultimately encompass the world. "The solution for us, the Jews and all of humanity is Islam," he declared.

Partition, for Hammami, is out of the question. "There is room for only one state in Palestine, from the river to the sea," he said.

"Jews born in Palestine will have full civil rights in the Islamic state," said Hammami, "just as they lived in the past with full rights under Islamic rule. Islam commands justice and equality, not only for myself, but also for others."

In the meantime, he asserted, Palestinians have to act to end Israeli occupation, though he carefully avoided an explicit mention of "jihad" or "armed struggle."

"The Palestinians are weak now," he said. "We are armed only with words, but we are capable of bearing greater burdens. It is a human right to resist occupation by any means."

The Government crisis in Israel and the latest diplomatic initiatives to promote the Middle East peace process are of little consequence to Hammami.

"Peres and Shamir are two sides of the same coin," he said. "Both are controlled by the international Zionist movement, and their actions cannot deviate from its parameters. They are playing a game."

"Peres may depict himself as working for peace, but he too is pursuing the Zionist interest in Palestine. Peres is two-faced. I prefer to see my enemy clearly before me, without a veil."

Does this mean Hammami prefers a hard-line Israeli leader from the right? "I really don't prefer anyone," he said. "I prefer an end to occupation."

The moves by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to start a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue in Cairo, as well as diplomatic initiatives by Egypt and the PLO, are nothing but "narcotics, benefiting only the Jews and the Israeli state, which is playing for time," declared Hammami.

As for Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel, Hammami opposes it unconditionally, regardless of whether the new arrivals settle inside or outside the Green Line. "I

don't distinguish between Haifa and Anata, between Nabulus and Jaffa," he said.

"Palestinians born here are expelled and prevented from coming back, while Jews, who have no rights to Palestine, are allowed in at our expense."

"This is a conspiracy between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviets supply Israel with the manpower, the U.S. with money and weapons. The aim is to tilt the scales in the demographic struggle against the Arabs."

"It's a battle between civilizations, and the Russians are part of it. The aim is to impose political 'pragmatism' on the Palestinians and prevent an Islamic reawakening," he said. "It's a religious struggle between Islam and the non-Islamic nations, who are trying to stop the Islamic trend in the region. The USSR was the first country to recognize Israel. Now it is again showing its ugly face."

Near Hammami's house, the walls are covered with Hamas slogans, some of them rhymes, others containing plays on words, one illustrated with a drawing of a rifle.

"Through holy war," the slogans say, "the country will be recovered. Yes to resistance, no to [political] haggling. No to the initiative of surrender, no to an international conference, no to negotiations with the American and Jewish enemy. Hamas is the true representative of our armed people."

"Islam will win in the end," Hammami summed up. "The future belongs to religion. All the other ideologies have failed. The Islamic trend is growing, and I hope it continues to gain. Islam seeks prosperity for all humanity."

New IDF Weekly To Be Distributed

*44000268 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR
in Hebrew 17 Apr 90 p 14*

[Text] The IDF [Israel Defense Force] spokesman, inter alia, last week issued the first edition of its new publication IDF WEEKLY. Appearing in English and Hebrew, the weekly is intended to provide up-to-date information on military and security issues and to reflect the intensive activity of the defense establishment in Israel in matters involving operations, alertness, and preparedness. The IDF WEEKLY is distributed throughout the world to all IDF emissaries abroad, army officers undergoing training and fulfilling various roles abroad, as well as to foreign military charges d'affaires stationed in Israel.

Economic Orientation of Soviet Immigrants Viewed

*44230120A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ
in Hebrew 9 Mar 90 p 7B*

[Article by Uri'el Ben-Hanan]

[Text] Many of the Soviet emigres who recently visited Russia confirm that a very large proportion of the

entrepreneurs in the Soviet Union today are Jews—cooperatives is the code word for private businesses. One of the reasons for this is that the Jews are a minority. The Jewish minority in the USSR, as any minority, aspires to social mobility in the channels that are open to it. And from the moment that the economic channel was opened, members of minorities flowed into it.

"This is one of the major reasons for the rising anti-Semitism in the USSR," says Prof. Michael Agursky, a well-known expert on Soviet affairs. "But the central question that should be asked is: What is the proportion of owners of private businesses among Soviet Jews, in general, and among the Jews who are about to come to Israel, in particular? In my opinion, it is a very small proportion of the immigrants." Agursky believes that "the proportion of immigrants from the Soviet Union who will go to the private sector as entrepreneurs will be small. I agree that the percentage will go up in comparison to the previous wave of immigration, but there will not be a significant structural change. If the public sector is open to immigrants, they will prefer it to the private sector. It was precisely the previous wave of immigration from the USSR that was characterized by Jews who had been engaged in private initiatives for a long time: Georgians and Bukharians. This time, their proportion among the immigrants is lower."

The English-language book "Soviet Man in a Free Society", edited by Dr. Tamar Horowitz, was recently published. In the book, several Israeli researchers attempt to indicate the various characteristics of the immigration from the USSR in the 70's and 80's. Examination of the researchers' findings may shed light on the Soviet man who is coming to us today. It was found that the Russian immigrant is considered diligent by his employers. The immigrants view their place of work not only as a source of livelihood, but also as the source for a contribution to society. Consequently, they expect from the workplace not only economic recognition, but also social recognition. There is a strong tendency among female immigrants from the USSR to participate in the work force. The immigrant families have relatively few children. This gives them a higher standard of living than that of the immigrants from Asia and Africa at the time of their arrival.

From the political and social viewpoint, there is among them an internal resistance to government intervention. They are helpless in their contacts with the bureaucracy, but they are accustomed to an authoritative approach and, consequently, the choice among various alternatives in a pluralistic society is difficult for them. They prefer predetermined and stable patterns in their work. This influences the degree to which they are able to become integrated quickly in the patterns of the Western economy and the private market. Studies of the degree of their integration in patterns of Western economic thinking show, for example, that immigrants from the USSR are less inclined to take advantage of the system of

benefits that are offered to immigrants, while immigrants from Western countries, with a similar status and of similar economic ability, take full advantage of them.

The Temptation of Job Tenure and Stability

Dr. Aharon Winokur, a Soviet immigrant and a sociologist, has studied the wave of immigration of the 70's together with Prof. Gur Ofer and Yehi'el Ben-Hayim. He says:

"One of the striking differences between the present wave of immigration and the previous wave of immigration is the origin of the immigrants from the USSR. The previous wave of immigration was characterized by a large proportion of immigrants from Georgia, Northern Caucasus, Soviet Asia, and the republics that were annexed to the Soviet Union after World War II. These were Jews who came mainly from small cities and agrarian areas. Today, most of the immigrants are from Russia, from large cities such as Moscow and Leningrad, from large cities in the Ukraine and Byelorussia, which were also under the control of the USSR before World War II. Consequently, most of them were employed in developed industry. Their professional level is much higher than that of those in the previous wave of immigration. They do not have great expectations. They are up-to-date on what is going on in Israel in the area of employment, and they know that absorption will not be easy. In my estimation, were they given the choice, they would prefer to work in the public sector and in large enterprises, due to the job tenure and the stability. But they know that the public sector is not able to absorb all of them."

Prof. Felix Levitch, an immigrant from the USSR and the owner of Predicta, a private company for analysis and economic forecasting, recently performed an analysis of the expected characteristics of the wave of immigration from the USSR. Some of the characteristics that were discussed by Dr. Winokur are supported by statistics in Levitch's analysis. According to Levitch, the population reserve from which the wave of immigration will flow to Israel numbers 2.4 million persons, a considerable percentage of whom are potential immigrants. These are the main characteristics, according to Levitch:

- City-dwellers. Out of the 2.4 million Jews and those considered to be Jews, 1.8 million live in large cities.
- Low birth rates.
- A very high level of education. Of those aged 20 or more (about 1.97 million persons), about 210,000 persons have a first degree; about 500,000 persons hold a masters degree (most of them are older); about 25,000 persons hold a doctorate; and about 233,000 are graduates in engineering technology.
- A relatively high percentage of elderly.
- The potential population for emigration is mainly middle class. About 15 percent of the population of potential emigrants have a capital of more than 50,000 rubles. About 200,000 persons of the Jewish

population in the USSR are persons of means and owners of property.

These figures should be viewed with caution, as they are estimates based upon the results of the 1979 census in the USSR. However, it is reasonable to assume that the trend which emerges regarding the character of the population and its socioeconomic composition is correct. Officials who are involved in immigration from the USSR confirm, not for attribution, the trends that emerge from Levitch's analysis.

The potential among the immigrants for entrepreneurship is first of all among those who have had experience in private commerce in the USSR. It is also reasonable to assume that a portion of the immigrants who are in the free professions will be forced in the end, against their wishes, to go over to the private sector. Prof. Felix Levitch is one of them. In Russia, Levitch was a professor of cybernetic economics at Riga University. He was a refusenik for three years, and arrived in Israel in 1979. According to Levitch, he became an entrepreneur by mistake. When he arrived, he applied for work at the Technion. While he waited to be accepted, friends of his interceded on his behalf with Tzvi Sussman of the Bank of Israel. He was given one project by the Bank of Israel, then a second, then a third, and, finally, after about two years, he decided to open a private economic consulting firm.

Speaking in a heavy Russian accent, Levitch relates his trials and tribulations on his journey to private enterprise. "In the beginning, they gave me jobs because I was an immigrant and they all wanted to help. I took on help in order to do the job. Afterwards, I began to feel the competition. In my field, every former official of the Ministry of Finance opens an office for economic consulting. As I hadn't developed in a capitalist system, I didn't know how to work with the money, I didn't know how to demand full payment for the services that I provide. To this day, it is difficult for me to be hard-nosed in negotiations over money."

Brilliant Ideas

"The Israeli mentality is completely different from the Soviet mentality, and it was difficult for me to understand the code of business behavior. I didn't understand the relationship between a manager and an employee. In the USSR, the manager makes a decision 95 percent of the time, while in Israel it is the employee who is the decisionmaker 95 percent of the time. Even if the manager wants to give you work, in the end it is the employee who decides. I invested very little in public relations, and too much in the product itself. Here, there is no room for feelings in negotiations and in business. In Russia, feelings play an important part in the conduct of negotiations. Very soon, I experienced a drastic decline in orders, and I almost went bankrupt; I was forced to lay off employees."

Levitch learned lessons over the years. Today, the company that he heads has 10 employees. It supplies computerized data bases and economic forecasts for a nice list of clients, including the Ministry of Tourism, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Teva company, the Manufacturers's Association.

According to Levitch, many of the new immigrants are interested in going into the private sector as entrepreneurs. "Dozens of Jews from the USSR come to me with brilliant ideas. Some of them are noted scientists, former managers of enterprises in the USSR. What they lack is financing and guidance on how to open a business in Israel. The Russians are not a bad risk capital for Israel. The problem is that the government is not prepared for this kind of immigrant. It is prepared to deal with the conventional immigrant, to give him money so that he can rent an apartment."

Up to now, it had seemed that private enterprise among immigrants from the USSR was the exception. This mainly involved very small businesses in the services sector, primarily the services of veteran immigrants to new ones—for example, private absorption offices.

Prof. Dan Horowitz, a sociologist and expert on Israeli society, says: "The present wave of immigration, in contrast to the wave of the 70's, is an immigration that is being pushed out of the USSR, and not an immigration that is being drawn here. Therefore, it is to be expected that the present immigrants will be more pragmatic, less bound by ideology, also because they are leaving the USSR after perestroika. From a certain viewpoint, this wave of immigration can be compared to the wave of German immigration of the 30's. That wave of immigration also was a mass immigration with a modern, non-traditional color.

"But there are also essential differences between the two waves of immigration. The Germans came from a society where the level of economic and intellectual development was higher than that of the Yishuv [the Jewish population in the Land of Israel]. The Germans turned to occupations that were lacking then in Israeli society: banking, academia, music, writing, medicine, construction. They changed the face of the cities in the country, brought the square construction, the European display windows. The immigrants from the USSR are coming to a society whose systems are more advanced than the Soviet systems. It may be that some of them will turn to the private sector and work in it as employees, mainly due to the inability of the government and Histadrut system to provide work for the immigrants. This may have political implications on the way that they vote, on population dispersion in the state, on social mobility in Israel. But from here to economic entrepreneurship, the road is still a long one."

Religious Population Reportedly Gathers Strength

*44230120F Tel Aviv 'AL-HAMISHMAR
in Hebrew 12 Mar 90 p 7*

[Article by Uri Gordon]

[Text] The phenomenon has already been gaining momentum for many years, and in the latest elections was reinforced. Nevertheless, it appears that the attitude towards it is as to a natural disaster, a higher force, a given, with which one has to learn to live. Religious Jewry is growing in numbers and strength, and secular Jewry is getting weaker.

Ideological Weakening

This is definitely not a natural phenomenon, and no higher force has planned this trend. The reason for this process is the ideological weakening of secular Jewry, confronted by clear, sharp, and direct answers and positions of religious Jewry, which are given due to the very nature of religion. For the secular Jew—and it doesn't matter on this subject if he lives in Israel or abroad—there is no system of beliefs or expectations or principles on a Jewish-Zionist basis that direct him and which he aspires to realize.

The need for peace with the Arab world or the desire to maintain an egalitarian and nondiscriminatory society in Israel cannot be considered an ideology symmetrical to religion, despite their importance. The simplest proof of this is that a religious person also can call for negotiations with the PLO and a change in the social welfare system in Israel, for example. These things do not contradict the faith in his heart. This merchandise can also be supplied by a religious party. The difference is the faith and the internal forces that motivate the action. One striking example is the youth movements. The secular youth movements are becoming weaker, and their members are minimally active. In contrast, the religious youth movements are growing, are operating in the field, and are noticeable due to the initiative that they show, such as on the subject of welcoming new immigrants, for example.

An Admission of Failure

Lack of faith results in lack of motivation, indifference, and the virtual admission of the fact that secular Jewry has nothing to offer. So that I am not misunderstood, I do not think that Jewry has to be divided into two camps—religious and secular—that fight each other, and there is no reason to start a war. The basic principles of Judaism are acceptable to all of us, and the disagreement is regarding the observance of religious commandments and the place of Halakha [Rabbinic law] in the life of the state. And there also is no intention to turn secularism itself into a religion. It comes down to the construction of a worthy alternative, an alternative path of realization and action, which could unite secular persons, who constitute a majority of the Jewish people.

The Value of Immigration

The secular answer must inscribe immigration and absorption upon its flag. Its building blocks will be taken from Judaism and the values of Israel, for that is the common and unifying basis for every Jew. The link with the diaspora, egalitarianism, peace—all are values that exist in the tradition of Israel, and, for some reason, there are those who ignore them. We must strengthen these values.

What is the cause of this stuttering? It is difficult to say clearly. Perhaps because the secular persons were concerned for years with the establishment of the state and the wars in its defense. Perhaps because of a natural fatigue. Perhaps because thought was not given to these matters. And, perhaps—and this, apparently, is the main reason—due to the ignoring of the importance of values. Zionism, for example, is a clearly secular teaching, which over the years became a term of aspersion or a verbal flourish in festive and flowery speeches. The same occurred with work, which became a strange and despised creature, with which an encounter must be avoided at any cost. Or the aspiration to strengthen the weak in society, and to aid them. An entire codex of values, which characterized our secular fathers, and has been forgotten by us.

Not a Marginal Phenomenon

It is possible to view the entire affair as a marginal and benign phenomenon, which will diminish with time. But ask one of the founders of the State, whether he believed that 13 Knesset members from non-Zionist parties would sit in the present Knesset, and listen to his answer. The process will not become weaker, but will become stronger. And then, one day, one year, the secular persons are liable to wake up and to find themselves living as a minority in a state that is not being run in accordance with their desires and their beliefs.

The spiritual forces of secular Jewry must come out of the ivory towers and the glass enclosures in which they live, and try to find a renewed definition of secular values. They must implant these in society, and mainly among the young generation. The saying, "after us, the deluge," must not be uttered here.

High-Tension Power Grid Tested

44230120E Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ
in Hebrew 11 Mar 90 p 4A

[Article by Eli El'ad]

[Text] An electrical current of 400 kilowatts was transmitted for the first time in Israel over the lines of the new national electrical power grid.

The strongest electrical current transmitted until now in Israel was 161 kilowatts, and it now goes over the national transmission lines. The operation was carried out in the framework of a trial operation conducted by

the Electric Company of part of the new national electrical grid, on the portion that goes from the new power station that is being completed at the Rutenberg site south of Ashqelon to the switching station at the Tzafit site next to Kfar Menahem.

The manager of the operating branch of the Electric Company, Sha'ul Yofen, explained that in order to test the line at the stage when the new station at Rutenberg has not yet been put into operation, the high tension line of 161 kilowatts was connected from the Eytan substation to Tzafit. The transformers at Tzafit raised the voltage to high-voltage and 400 kilowatts of electricity at this voltage were transmitted in the other direction, from the Tzafit switching station to the new power station at Rutenberg.

The Grid Will Reach the Sands of Caesaria

The construction of the new national high-tension electrical grid is intended to aid in the transmission of the large quantities of electricity that the economy will require, while adapting the transmission system to the growing demands. According to the Company's development plans, the first section of the new grid, from Rutenberg to Tzafit, will be put into service when the first coal-fired generation unit (550 megawatts) goes into operation, which is planned for May.

After the operation of the second coal-fired unit in the new station, some time in the coming year, an additional section of the new grid, from Tzafit to the substation at Petah Tiqwa, is to go into service. Afterwards, the new grid is to continue to the sands of Caesaria, in order to connect with and receive the electricity that will be generated at the existing power station in Hadera, and the new one whose construction will begin next to it.

JORDAN

Goals, Policies of Islamic Jihad Discussed

90WR0131Z Amman AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH
in Arabic 23 Mar 90 pp 4-5

[Interview with Shaykh As'ad Bayyud al-Tamimi, leader of Islamic Jihad Movement by Muhammad Salamat: "Face to Face With the Leader of the Islamic Jihad Movement; We Coordinate With Hamas But We Have Our Independent Command"; first two paragraphs are AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH introduction; date, place not given]

[Text] Amman—AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH—Establishing God's rule and liberating the sacred places is the goal of the Islamic Jihad Movement—Bayt al-Maqdis [Jerusalem], which was founded in 1980 for the purpose.

As a contribution on its part toward shedding light on this movement's objectives, AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH has interviewed Shaykh As'ad Bayyud al-Tamimi, the movement leader who lives in Amman at

present. We have paused before a number of issues on which the movement has a different opinion.

Foundation

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] To begin, can you tell us about the Islamic Jihad Movement—Bayt al-Maqdis?

[Tamimi] After lengthy consultations, the Islamic Jihad Movement—Bayt al-Maqdis was founded at the outset of 1980. When the founder met the legal requirements, Shaykh Imam As'ad Bayyud al-Tamimi was given the pledge of allegiance as movement commander.

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] What are your objectives?

[Tamimi] Our objective is to establish God's rule on the land and to liberate the occupied holy land from the Jewish usurper so that Jerusalem may become the capital of the promised orthodox caliphate as defined in the provisions.

Our creed in this regard is the Islamic creed which is founded on the mainstays of faith and Islam as we have been taught it by God's apostle, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, and as the pious predecessors believed in it after the apostle.

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] If this is what you seek to achieve, then what is your method of action?

[Tamimi] It is the method of jihad [holy war] dictated by the Koran and the *sunna* [sayings and doings of the Prophet established as legally binding precedents]. Some people may object and say that there can be no jihad until a state is established, that any faction seeking to establish God's rule must follow the path of the apostle, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, that it is a religious duty to follow the apostle's path, and that such a faction may engage in no tangible action to establish the Islamic state, but must ask for the support of society's objective forces!

Some people believe in this concept. But it is a faulty concept which contradicts several aspects of the apostle's path, may God's peace and prayers be upon him:

First, when the apostle, peace be upon him, asked the Arabs around him for support, he made it conditional that they embrace Islam first, i.e. join his faction. This is why the people of al-Ta'if rejected Islam. But the prophet offered Islam to the people of al-Madinah, and they embraced it and founded the Islamic state. Since they joined his faction by embracing Islam, they carried out his order on establishing the Islamic state. The people of al-Madinah relied on themselves in establishing the state and did not ask for the support of others. The same applies to any faction that wishes to follow the apostle's path, may God's peace and prayers be upon the apostle, in establishing the Islamic state. Such a faction must rely on God first and then on itself and must not seek the support of others while it sits idle.

Second, the objection to having a faction struggling against the enemy without the presence of a Muslim caliph is an objection to the rule of the *shari'ah* [Islamic law]. Abu-Basir formed the first Muslim organization in the history of Islam with which he fought Quraysh tribe and the infidels in the wake of al-Hudaybiyah peace treaty. God's apostle, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, commanded Abu-Basir saying: Woe would have befallen the mother of Mus'ir Harb if Abu-Basir only had more men to follow him. Thus, Abu-Basir founded the first organization to fight the enemy without being a subject of the Islamic State of al-Madinah. The apostle, peace be upon him, supported his position.

Third, who says the caliphate will be restored when the Muslims sit idle and fail to struggle to establish it? This is why 'Ibadah Ibn-al-Samit, may God be pleased with him, transmits that God's apostle, peace be upon him, clarified this issue by saying: "God's apostle, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, demanded obedience in what is pleasant and what is unpleasant, in good times and in bad times, and this is why he demanded that we refrain from challenging those in authority 'unless you see open infidelity to which you have proof from God.'" This applies to all regimes that apply infidelity instead of God's rule in the Islamic countries. If this applies to the Islamic countries which practice infidelity, then it is more essential that it be applied to the State of Israel, which is an infidel state that is usurping holy land. It is a duty to fight Israel in order to destroy it and to establish God's rule in its place.

Fourth, as for those who say that we are in the Mecca era and that, therefore, we do not have to engage in jihad, their statement is trivial because it means suspending all the Islamic religious duties revealed in al-Madinah, such as the *hajj* [pilgrimage], the alms tax, and so forth. Anybody with any knowledge of the *shari'ah* would not say such a thing.

Fifth, jihad is individual and collective and it is performed behind a caliph and without the presence of a caliph. The jihad duty was imposed during the apostle's emigration to al-Madinah. It was revealed in God's words, may God be praised: "To those against whom war is made, permission is given to fight because they are wronged; and verily, God is most powerful for their aid. They are those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right and for no cause except that they say 'Our lord is God.'" Since this verse, the jihad has not stopped and it may not stop, regardless of whether there is or there isn't a caliph. God, may He be exalted, says: "Then fight in God's cause—thou art held responsible only for thyself—and rouse the believers. It may be that God will restrain the fury of the unbelievers for God is strongest in might and in punishment." Interpreters have said that this phrase is addressed to the apostle and to his nation as well. The apostle, peace be upon him, has said: "The jihad shall continue till the day of resurrection. It shall not be voided by the fairness of the just nor by the injustice of the tyrannical. If you are called upon to fight, answer the call."

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] Is the Islamic Jihad Movement a faction or a party?

[Tamimi] The Jihad Movement is a movement. It is not a faction or a party. It is the movement of the Muslim masses who want to perform the jihad duty. Every struggling Muslim belongs to the movement. Therefore, it is opposed to partisan exclusion and it extends its hand to all Muslims so that they may work together to achieve the supreme Islamic interests.

It is a movement whose tendencies follow nothing other than the Koran and the *sunna*. Therefore, whoever wishes to criticize it must come up with proof from the *shari'ah* and the movement will then accept the criticism.

God, always truthful, says: "Already has Our word been passed to Our servants sent by Us that they would certainly be assisted. And Our forces, they surely must conquer."

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] What are the sources financing the Islamic Jihad Movement?

[Tamimi] The financing sources are from the nation. We do not receive any aid from any circle whatsoever, be it an organization or a government.

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] So you are not within the PLO frameworks?

[Tamimi] We are not within the PLO frameworks and the PLO has no control or influence over us. When the Algiers conference—the PNC [Palestine National Council] session—which adopted the peace process and offered the Palestinian peace initiative convened, I sent brother Yasir 'Arafat a cable in which I rejected the peace initiative and the peaceful solution with "Israel." I also rejected the Algiers conference resolutions. Contrary to what some sources have said, we are not a faction of the PLO.

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] What does Palestine mean to the Jihad Movement?

[Tamimi] Palestine is a holy land. The venerable Koran makes this clear in more than nine places. This is also made clear in numerous *hadiths* [narrative relating deeds and utterances of the Prophet and his Companions]. Therefore, action to liberate all of Palestine from the Jews' hands is a religious duty and relinquishing a single inch of Palestine is tantamount to scorning the Koran, the *sunnah*, and the Islamic creed. Therefore, it is the religious duty of all Muslims to reject any recognition [of Israel]. Anybody who recognizes Israel is an unbeliever because he denies the sacred and blessed nature of Palestine and denies something that is necessarily known to Islam.

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] What position does the Islamic Jihad Movement has in the intifadah [uprising]?

[Tamimi] The blessed intifadah began with divine intervention when the Islamic Jihad youth fought a battle against the enemy forces in al-Shuja'ah, Gaza, at the beginning of December 1987 and killed a number of enemy officers and soldiers. The jihad group, consisting of four strugglers, namely Sa'id Muhammad al-Jamal, Ahmad Halas, Sami al-Shaykh and Misbah al-Suri, was martyred. The Jihad then called for a general strike to which the faithful masses responded. A few days after this incident, a Jihad youth stabbed an Israeli settler in Jabaliya. Subsequently, an Israeli truck driver ran over four residents of Jabaliya Refugee Camp. The Jihad then called for a general strike which has gone on and has not ended. People began to use stones to fight the enemy and then hide among trees. Thus, the battle of the stone and the trees about which the apostle speaks has materialized. The apostle, peace be upon him, has said: "The day of resurrection will not arrive until the Muslims fight the Jews and kill them and until the stones and the trees, except for al-Gharqad, which is a Jewish tree, say: O Muslim, o servant of God, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him." This version is transmitted by al-Bukhari and Musallam. Another version of the *hadith* says: "The Jews of Jerusalem will fight you and you shall so overwhelm them that the stones and the trees, except for al-Gharqad, which is a Jewish tree, say: O Muslim, o servant of God, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him." God's apostle is always true. Everything in the *hadith* has come true. The stones and the trees have spoken. Consequently, the Jewish state will be destroyed and victory will be scored against it.

Islam is what stirs the intifadah masses. The battle slogan is "Allah is great." So victory will be surely achieved in the end because as long as God's apostle has told the truth in all that he has previously pronounced and that we have learned, then we must trust him in what we don't know and what he knows and has pronounced. Therefore, the Muslims in the holy land must pay not attention to peaceful solutions and must continue their jihad because the issue is religiously decided, and the decision is certain victory.

As for our position in the intifadah leaderships, the Palestinian people's leadership is now divided between three commands: The Unified Command which represents Fatah, the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), and the Islamic Jihad Movement.

But the Islamic Jihad Movement is more effective in carrying out armed operations against the Jews. The majority of the operations and blows dealt Israel in 1989 were the work of the Islamic Jihad Movement.

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] You have said that the Islamic Jihad Movement is distinguished from the others by the armed operations it carries out. Do you have a vision of how to move the intifadah from the phase of civil resistance to the phase of armed resistance?

[Tamimi] The issue is one of the availability of resources because God has decreed jihad against the enemy,

saying: "And slay them wherever ye catch them, and turn them out from where they have turned you out." The jihad does not need a political program and has nothing to do with the circumstances or, as some people allege, with waiting until the international position or Arab position permits it. In our opinion, all these slogans are not grounded in the reality. We are in a ceaseless battle with the Jews—"and prepare for them all the means of strength you can muster."

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] Is there cooperation between the Islamic Jihad Movement and Hamas?

[Tamimi] We cooperate with Hamas and with the intifadah's Unified Command for the good of the Palestinian people. But we are not merged with either. Our command is the Koran and the *sunna*, the two sources from which we derive battle thinking. The Unified Command and Hamas have their independent commands and we have our independent command. We do not clash with them, but we do not merge with them either.

Coordination exists among all, especially in connection with observing declared strikes and other activities. Everybody adheres to the announcements.

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] What is your assessment of the PLO political movements, especially of the ongoing talk about holding an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue in Cairo? Do you approve of it?

[Tamimi] The PLO is striking cold iron. It is the Jews' fate to reject any solution until the arrival of the final solution pronounced by God's apostle, God's peace and prayers be upon him, who has said: "The day of resurrection will not arrive until the Muslims fight the Jews and kill them and until the stones and trees, except for al-Gharqad tree which is a Jewish tree, say: O Muslim, o servant of God, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him."

Therefore, it is the Jews' fate to reject any political solution with the Islamic nation. I have told brother Yasir 'Arafat: "Do not try because they will reject and you will reach no result with them" because it is in the nature of the Jews to evade, maneuver, and try to gain time to serve their interest." One can now see the disagreements within the Israeli Government. Shamir invites the government to make a decision on whether to reject or not. But the government is divided upon itself and the Jewish state is now disintegrating politically, economically, militarily, and psychologically.

As for the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue, it will not take place and they will not approve it. They are simply maneuvering.

God, may He be praised and exalted, says in His venerable book: "Have they a share in dominion or power? Behold, they give not a farthing to their fellow men?" Dominion is sovereignty and power, not money. It is as if the verse has been revealed to us, the Muslims,

at this very time because when this verse was revealed, the Jews had no dominion and no power. The same goes for the story of the Jews with the cow.

Here, an amazed and disapproving question is addressed to the Arab pinnacles, to the PLO, and to those seeking peace: "Do you expect the others to assure you of peace with Israel?" These are daydreams.

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] What does the Soviet Jewish immigration mean?

[Tamimi] The majority of the Muslims, especially the ulema among them, hold the faulty concept that all the Jews will gather in Israel. This is wrong. Only those promised to meet their fate in Palestine are the ones who come to Palestine. The Jews will remain scattered in the diaspora till the day of resurrection.

Therefore, the venerable verse "When the second of the warnings came to pass, We gathered you together in a mingled crowd," applies to those who come to Palestine. It is part of the suffering imposed on the Jews who come to Palestine because God, may He be praised and exalted, says: "Behold! Thy Lord did declare that He would send against them, to the Day of Judgment, those who would afflict them with grievous penalty."

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] If you reject political solutions, then what alternative does the Islamic Jihad have?

[Tamimi] We believe in fighting as prescribed by God's apostle, may God's peace and prayers be upon him. The entire nation is prepared for the jihad. So who will ring the bell!

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] Let us assume, for the sake of the argument, that the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue process will materialize and that elections will be held. Will you be a party to the elections?

[Tamimi] We totally reject the elections and we will not be a party to them. We will continue to fight the Zionist enemy even if he retreats to the 1948 borders. I have informed brother Yasir 'Arafat of this.

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] Do you have organizations outside the occupied Palestine?

[Tamimi] We do not clash with the Arab regimes and we do not wish to preoccupy ourselves with issues outside Palestine. The jihad is present in the Arab arena.

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] What is your connection with Iran?

[Tamimi] When the Islamic revolution broke out in Iran, we initially supported it. But to date, Iran has not helped us and our contacts with Iran are not direct contacts.

[AL-RAYAH AL-ISLAMIYAH] Do you have a word you wish to address to the Palestinian people in the occupied territories?

[Tamimi] I say: Regardless of whether the Jews meet or do not meet with the Palestinians in Cairo, the result is the same. The Jewish state will not continue to exist. It has been Palestine's fate to face foreign invasion throughout history, including the Crusader occupation and the Tatar invasion. Therefore, political meetings are a waste of time. The nation will ultimately resume the fight in the form of "jihad."

You fear the atomic bomb. These are groundless threats. If Israel decides to use the atomic bomb, it will hit itself by itself because it lives in the Arab region's environs. Moreover, the world does not permit the use of atomic bombs, even though the eastern and western camps possess nuclear heads.

The Palestinian people at home need no appeals. They are people of endurance and martyrdom and they are blessed on earth and in heaven. All they have to do is strengthen their tie to God, and all victory is from God. Get closer to God, return to the mosques, sing the verses of the Koran, and fill the air with the sounds of "Allah is great" every time a stone is thrown.

"O ye who believe, when you meet a force, be firm and call God in remembrance much and often that ye may prosper; and obey God and His apostle and fall into no disputes lest you lose heart and your power depart. Be patient and persevering for God is with those who patiently persevere."

LIBYA

Libyan Embassy Makes Political Contribution

34000516Z Harare THE HERALD
in English 28 Mar 90 p 5

[Excerpt] The Zanu (PF) [Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front] election campaign yesterday received a major boost from the Libyan embassy with a \$240,211.39 cheque.

Presenting the money to the Zanu (PF)'s secretary for publicity and information, Cde Nathan Shamuyarira, the Libyan Charge d'Affaires to Zimbabwe, Mr Fathi Gebril, said Libya had supported the Zimbabwean liberation struggle and would continue to support the unity between the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of President Mugabe.

Receiving the money, Cde Shamuyarira said Zanu (PF) was grateful for the support shown by the Libyans. Their support, Cde Shamuyarira said, would strengthen Zimbabwe's revolutionary tasks ahead. He said the gift showed solidarity between Libya and Zimbabwe and the friendship between the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, and President Mugabe. [passage omitted]

MOROCCO

Ambassador to Portugal on Relations, Regional Issues

90AA0054A Lishon O DIABO
in Portuguese 20 Mar 90 pp 6-7

[Interview with Ali Benbouchta, ambassador of Morocco, by Miguel Alvarenga; date and place not given; first six paragraphs are introduction]

[Excerpt] Ali Benbouchta had never been to Portugal before. He arrived in July, and he says that the past 7 months have been "more than sufficient" to make him "enthusiastic about the country." He has not even had time to go to the movies—a man who admits he is a devotee of the seventh art. He is the ambassador of Morocco to Portugal. And he spends his life "going from place to place," involved in many leisure activities. He never loses a single opportunity to have a look at art exhibits, and he spends hours visiting our museums. "I feel at home here," he says.

He is a cultivated man, and an excellent conversationalist. He speaks slowly, and during our interview in his embassy office, he had one sole concern—looking good in the photograph. He smiled for the camera, and waited to hear the "click" before continuing to speak.

He said that relations with Portugal are "excellent," and recalled that we have "a common past." He spoke about the Arab influence on Portuguese culture and the Portuguese influence on Morocco. He laughed when asked if there are presidents who govern like kings, and kings who govern like presidents. I asked him to draw a parallel between Mario Soares and King Hassan II. "His Majesty and the president of Portugal are good friends. I admire Dr Mario Soares, but I would not want to comment on his presidency. I would rather not make comparisons, as I do not want to inject myself into Portuguese politics," he said. "And that is my duty."

Before coming to Portugal, he headed the office staff of the minister of foreign affairs in Morocco for 5 years, and he also served with the permanent Moroccan mission at the United Nations. He said that diplomatic life "has always fascinated me." That is why he is here.

Ali Benbouchta talked with O DIABO last Tuesday morning. He had just read our latest edition and he made a point of voicing his thanks for the report we published on the reception given at the Hotel Penta on his country's national holiday. "I was very touched," he said.

We talked for about an hour in French, which he speaks correctly. He speaks Portuguese "more or less," but understands and reads it. And he is still learning the language. Our interview went as follows.

[O DIABO] Mr Ambassador, you have been in Portugal for 7 months. Let me begin by asking you what opinions you have formed about our country.

[Benbouchta] The very best. I have been treated with every kindness by your people, whom I consider, moreover, very much like Moroccans. They are simple, very open, hospitable, and sincere people.

[O DIABO] Do you believe that Morocco is closer to Portugal or to Spain?

[Benbouchta] If we consider geography alone, obviously Spain is closer to us. But by air, Lisbon is the capital closest to Rabat. The flight takes 50 minutes. But I believe that both countries are close to Morocco, not only because we have a common past, but because of the cultural roots which link us.

No Stranger Here

[O DIABO] Do you see affinities between our two peoples—the Portuguese citizens and the Moroccans? For example, with regard to life-style, civilization, dress, etc.?

[Benbouchta] I see tremendous affinities. In the southern part of Portugal, for example, one even finds physical similarities between the people of Morocco and those of the Algarve. I think that we have the same temperament, for we are both open, simple, and very hospitable people, as I told you.

[O DIABO] You feel at home, is that it?

[Benbouchta] I feel at home. I do not consider myself a foreigner in Portugal. I believe that all of the Moroccans who live here have this sense of being at home, as well. And I think that the people of Portugal, when they visit Morocco, identify strongly with us—with our civilization, our history (in much of which you had a hand), our past, and our customs.

Excellent Relations

[O DIABO] How would you describe the relations which have existed between Portugal and Morocco for the past 30 years?

[Benbouchta] At this time, our relations are excellent on all levels. Earlier, they passed through various stages, different phases. Morocco has always expressed solidarity with the liberation movements in Africa, and prior to the Portuguese revolution, it is obvious that this was not viewed favorably.

[O DIABO] Do you mean that the relations between Portugal and Morocco improved after 25 April?

[Benbouchta] They have improved and they have borne fruit, above all in the past 5 years—mainly since the visit paid to Morocco by President Mario Soares, although it was a private one. Those 8 days were very important to the cooperation between our two countries. President Soares had various meetings with His Majesty King Hassan II, and all this contributed to bringing our two peoples closer together again. I know that His Majesty

has a very special regard for the Portuguese president, and I also know that Dr Mario Soares is a very good friend of the king's.

[O DIABO] What about the government level?

[Benbouchta] The cooperation and our political relations are also of the best. The Portuguese prime minister also did us the honor of visiting our country at the end of 1988, and the Moroccan prime minister came to Portugal as the head of an important ministerial delegation. The very positive talks which took place have strengthened the bonds of friendship between the two countries and the two peoples, and have brought us closer together.

The Evo Fernandes Case

[O DIABO] With regard to defense, what kind of cooperation has there been between Portugal and Morocco?

[Benbouchta] In the realm of defense, cooperation has also been very good, within the context of the established international norms.

[O DIABO] In connection with the Evo Fernandes case, in fact, the fruits of this cooperation were visible. Would you like to give us some more information about the arrest in Casablanca of Chagas and Messias, the two defendants, who have, moreover, already been sentenced?

[Benbouchta] I do not have much information about the matter. But as the head of the office staff of the Moroccan minister of foreign affairs, which was my position at the time, I followed the trial, and I must say that it was a normal occurrence, and one which developed in accordance with international norms. The two men suspected of this crime were arrested in Casablanca. We made contact with the Portuguese authorities, and the process of extradition proceeded normally.

[O DIABO] The arrest occurred after the Portuguese authorities had been alerted, did it not?

[Benbouchta] Obviously. There was a conviction on the part of the Portuguese authorities that the suspects had fled to Morocco. When we received the alert, they were already in our country. This case was characterized both by Moroccan police efficiency and by cooperation on the part of the Portuguese authorities. They even came to Casablanca to interrogate the defendants and later to take them to Portugal.

Peace in Angola

[O DIABO] Have there been clashes between Portugal and Morocco in connection with fishing?

[Benbouchta] No clashes. What happens there, happens.

[O DIABO] What about between Spain and Morocco?

[Benbouchta] You will excuse me, but I am an ambassador to Portugal and there is a Moroccan ambassador in

Madrid. I would not like to make any statement about relations other than those between my country and yours, where I am living.

[O DIABO] Understood. Let us speak about Angola, then. Does Morocco continue to support Jonas Savimbi?

[Benbouchta] Morocco has excellent relations with the president and the government of Angola. But we are not interfering in Angola's internal war. Our role, or I should say the role of His Majesty King Hassan II, has been oriented toward trying to establish peace and prosperity in that African country, which is a part of our continent. The concern of the king has been to bring the two parties, the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], closer together again, in an effort to pacify the conflict so that peace and progress can prevail in Angola.

[O DIABO] Do you deny the presence of Moroccan military advisers in Jamba, then?

[Benbouchta] I deny it absolutely. Morocco does not intervene in Angolan territory. We do not have any special interests there, nor are we seeking to obtain any benefit. We are attempting only to make a contribution, if possible, to the establishment of peace in Angola. Moreover, King Hassan II has played an important role in the search for peaceful solutions for Africa and for the Middle East. We need only to recall that many of the steps toward this goal, many of the summit meetings held among leaders, have taken place on Moroccan territory, at the behest of His Majesty.

No Polisario Control

[O DIABO] Does the Polisario Front [Popular (Front) for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro] control a part of Moroccan territory or not?

[Benbouchta] That is absolutely false. All of this comes from the Polisario Front propaganda. It is a lie. Moreover, a number of journalists who visit Morocco frequently have been able to see this, as can tourists, who travel the territory from end to end without encountering the Polisario Front. All of the Saharan provinces and all of the airports are under the control of the Moroccan Government, without any interference from the Polisario Front.

[O DIABO] Have you had evidence of, or have you been warned about, the possible presence of Polisario Front members in Portuguese territory?

[Benbouchta] Up until today, I have had no indications.

[O DIABO] Not even when you were working with the minister of foreign affairs in Morocco?

[Benbouchta] No. There may, obviously, be a suspicion here or there that members of the Polisario Front might be here, or that, for example, members of Portuguese terrorist organizations might have sought refuge in

Morocco. These instances are reported by the authorities in both countries, but as far as I know, no specific cases have ever developed. And even in the Evo Fernandes case, about which we have already spoken, it is known today that the two suspects arrested in Casablanca did not intend to remain in Morocco. They were merely saving up money so as to go on to some other country.

[O DIABO] Mr Ambassador, do you fear terrorist actions?

[Benbouchta] I believe that we all fear them. This is an evil which has developed in the world.

[O DIABO] But in your particular case, are you protected when you go out on the street?

[Benbouchta] I have my security service, obviously.

Safety in Lisbon

[O DIABO] Is Lisbon a safe capital?

[Benbouchta] In my opinion, it is one of the safest cities. I see police agents everywhere.

[O DIABO] There has been a great deal of talk about the resurgence of racist movements in Europe. Are you aware of any here?

[Benbouchta] Not at all. I have only seen kindness on the part of the Portuguese people. They are a congenial people. Neither I nor the members of the Moroccan community living here have experienced any kind of racism. [passage omitted]

Agadir Port Development Planned

90AA0040A Casablanca LA VIE INDUSTRIELLE ET AGRICOLE in French 20 Mar 90 pp 15-16

[Unattributed article: "Agadir—The Immediate Future; First Fishing Port in Africa and Second Port in Morocco"]

[Text] If there is a sector that is above all strategic, then it is the transportation sector. It constitutes a production dynamic [as published] and makes it possible to remain at the level of the requirements of world shipping by responding in the best possible way to the country's needs in commercial trade.

Maritime transportation, the efficiency and reliability of which no longer needs to be proved, is used for more than 80 percent of international trade to convey products to their final destination.

This is why, in order to ensure rapid transit and, when the time comes, to meet the needs of trade acceleration, ports must be modernized and improved.

In numerous cases, air transportation could also turn out to be the other indispensable means to activate trade in

certain specific sectors of economic activity. Air transportation, and this is a very recent phenomenon, can create production.

Henceforth, the port complex and the new airport, which are part of the framework of an integrated regional development, will open Agadir and its region widely and favorably to the world.

The size of the new infrastructures is impressive. Over a period of a few years, Agadir, the economic capital of the South, grew in all directions like a wild plant, but much more in surface area than in height. Today, Agadir, the charm of a whole region of warmth and light, is ready to face the challenges of tomorrow.

The port of Agadir is expected to handle seven percent of the national trade and one-third of all exports in citrus fruits and early fruits and vegetables.

The region's strong growth with its tourist, agricultural, fishing, and mining wealth, already make it possible to forecast a doubling of the traffic of goods and of the production volume of coastal and deep-sea fishing.

Hence, the new port complex is capable of accomodating commercial vessels with a capacity of more than 100,000 tons and to handle without difficulty the deep-sea fleet catch.

The technical characteristics of the port complex are as follows:

- 110 hectares of basins;
- 6,120 meters of dykes and jetties;
- 3,515 meters of quays between -3.00 and -15 meters hydro [hydro with a minus sign means below sea level];
- 120 hectares of quayage;
- 1 petroleum facility at -8.00;
- 1 roll-on roll-off facility and an area for boat repair.

The capacity of the port complex is estimated at 2.4 million tons per year during the first phase and may go as high as 3.2 million tons per year during the final phase.

The new port offers a water surface of 50 hectares, protected by two dykes with embankments, one 2,300 meters long and the other 600 meters long.

To accomodate vessels, the docking facilities offered are:

- 960 meters of quays at -10.50 hydro;
- 320 meters of wharfs at -15.00 hydro;
- a hydrocarbon station at -8.00 hydro;
- a mobil roll-on roll-off bridge at -10.50 meters hydro.

Given that the new port has a purely commercial mission, the current port will keep the coastal and deep sea fishing activities, it will harbor the Royal Navy units, and will contribute to the growth of coastal tourism.

Shipyard: Technical Novelty

A shipyard of such dimensions required setting up very important installations and equipment, specifically the quarries, and developing the core of the dyke, the concrete and the building of the casings.

- ballasting and embanking: 18,000,000 tons.
- concrete: 680,000 cubic meters.
- dyke for more rapid operations.

A large part of the core of the sea walls has been completed. The positioning of the river barges is being checked with very high precision, thanks to a radio navigation system.

This concern for precision is also found at the level of installation of the elements of the shell (tetrapods and cubic blocs).

The Caisson: Less Expensive Quays

All of the quay installations at the new port of Agadir have been built in rectangular caissons according to a new technique, the caissons having been built in floatation on a floating dock with a sliding form technique. The concrete and steel are supplied by revolving tower cranes. Preliminary studies had led those who conceived the project to opt for such a technique for the following reasons:

- allow for greatly improved timing compared to quays built in blocs;
- achieve notable savings in costs given that a significant quantity of concrete is replaced with ordinary materials.

The various caissons present the following characteristics:

- Quay at 10.50 hydro length: 29.10 meters width: 9.67 meters height: 14.50 meters.
- Quay at 15.00 hydro length: 29.10 meters width: 15.65 meters height: 19.00 meters.

The development of the new port complex of Agadir falls within the framework of the Master Plan. It puts an end to the bottleneck caused by the development of the large metropolis of Agadir and the multiplication of trade.

For the Port Development Office, the first phase of this development means the construction of modern installations and the purchase of high performance equipment: quay streets, instruments to handle ore, modern storage sheds, repair shops in storage sheds. The part of the budget allocated by the Port Office to these investments amounts to 150 million dirhams.

These short-term operations will be developed through an action plan to establish all the port functions created by the new possibilities offered by the complex, specifically:

- The development of a large industrialized port area capable of accomodating various processing industries related to fishing, and specifically refrigerated

warehouses for citrus fruits, early fruits and vegetables, and fishing products.

The construction of an integrated naval repair project for cargo vessels as well as fishing and pleasure units.

The development of a pleasure port and a large-scale tourist zone.

the urban redevelopment of the old port to accomodate fishing units and units of the Royal Navy.

The Agadir Marina: a water surface of 10 hectares/500 boats.

With an already firmly established reputation, Agadir has, in terms of tourism, rare advantages at its disposal: a favorable climate, exploitable 12 months out of 12, and a large protected bay.

This explains the specific interest in the creation of tourist attractions in the city's Master Plan.

Pleasure boating is a first-class trump card for the blossoming of tourism. The port reserved for pleasure boating will quickly accomodate the region's flotilla. Even before the opening of the tourism port. Several large tourist organizations have chosen Agadir for the construction of infrastructures to accomodate such craft.

The new Agadir Marina will thus contribute to the region's stimulation of tourism.

In its final phase, the tourist port of Agadir will have at its disposal a protected water surface of 10 hectares, capable of accomodating a 500 unit flotilla.

In a first phase it will be able to accomodate 250 units (boats of up to 40 meters in length and with draft capacity of 2 to 4 meters).

Installed Equipment

The operations completed within the framework of the first stage include:

- 890 linear meters of main quay;
- 536 meters of ties;
- five hectares of quayage to be developed during the second phase;
- one administrative zone;
- one yacht club;
- one parking area for towboats;
- one zone for naval repair;
- one activity and leisure center.

Characteristics

The amounts of materials used:

- ballast: 340,000 tons;
- concrete: 250,000 cubic meters;
- embanking: 166,000 cubic meters.

Cost and turnaround time: the cost of the work was estimated at 81 million dirhams, the turnaround time for the first phase was six months.

The development of the access channel and the basin was carried out by dredging of the entry passage to the swing zone and the quay wastes. Seventy hectares of quayage, completely recovered from the sea by hydraulic and land fill, form the port's rational exploitation platform.

These quayages are fully equipped to facilitate trade operations: recovery, covering, a system for drinking water and a system for sea water, electrification, new road service (highways with access interchange to the port), erection of road signs and markers for the port complex, and miscellaneous others (surrounding wall, platform scales, guard posts, buildings for processing and handling equipment, sheds and special equipment).

The laying of the first stone for the new port took place on 11 March 1985 at the time of the glorious visit of His Majesty King Hassan II to the southern provinces.

The turnaround time for the work was 42 months.

A \$16 million loan was granted by the Spanish Government for the complete financing of the project of development for the Agadir port complex. The construction of the infrastructures and superstructures was entrusted to the Spanish Dragados y Construcciones company.

The loan was granted at four-percent interest rate over 25 years, with a grace period of eight years.

The cost for the work completed during the first phase is 1.3 billion dirhams for infrastructures and superstructures, and 150 million dirhams for the installations.

New Airport

The new international airport of Agadir, which is expected to open next January, will replace the old Agadir airport of Inezgane, whose further expansion has become virtually impossible because of the growth in traffic, but also because of the growth of the city itself, which in the end turned the airport into a complex highly interwoven with the urban fabric.

Location: The new airport is located in the middle of the Admine Forest (Ait Melloul Circle), 22 kilometers southeast of Agadir. Because of its location, the complex offers the best compromise in terms of criteria linked to climat, topology, aeronautic approach, and site capacity.

Surface: An effective surface of 24,500 square meters, expandable to 27,350 square meters by the year 2010.

Characteristics: A 3,200-meter-long and 45-meter-wide takeoff runway extendable to 3,930 meters in the saturation phase, with a 23-meter-wide parallel airport taxi circuit, a 4,200-meter-network of access roads. The apron will include 15 gates with the possibility of extension to 40.

The passenger terminal has an effective surface of 24,500 square meters with the possibility of expansion to 27,350 square meters by 2010.

The buildings include:

- a VIP lounge;
- a technical facility;
- a control tower;
- a freight terminal;
- a security and fire services station;
- a meteorological center;
- an electric power station;
- a fuel depot;
- a technical area with hangars/workshops;
- a commercial area;
- a drinking water system; and
- a waste water treatment facility.

Capacity: The new airport is designed for an ultimate capacity of 10 million passengers per year. It is currently set up to handle a flow of 3 million passengers per year.

Aeronautical and Meteorological Equipment: ILS [Institute Landing System]. VOR [Very Omnidirectional Range]. DMF [Distance Measuring Equipment]. VASIS, high intensity beacon, control tower equipment, equipment for the meteorological center including all the instruments necessary to cover flights.

Cost of the Project: The cost of the project, keys in hand, has been estimated at a total of 1.24 billion dirhams, broken down as follows:

- land purchase: 5 million dirhams;
- infrastructure and various networks: 466 million dirhams;
- buildings: 374 million dirhams;
- equipment: 350 million dirhams.

SUDAN

Columnist Discusses Attempts To Form Popular Democracy

90AA0017A Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH
in Arabic 20 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by 'Abd-al-Qadir al-Siraj: "World Developments and Their Impact on the Sudan"]

[Text] The National Salvation Revolution, already six months old, is at the dawn of a new year that heralds an end to totalitarian regimes imposed by rulers on their people by force of arms, victimizing millions in the process. Those of them who survived were haunted with deprivation and persecution.

The collapse of those regimes late in 1989 was natural and precipitated by the Baltic republics in attempts to liberate themselves from the hammer and sickle. Nobody ever anticipated, however, that the collapse of a regime would, in a rapid domino effect, cause the collapse of the similar regimes in Warsaw Pact countries

that espoused the theories of Engels and Marx, who denounced man's natural inclination towards religion.

For 70 years they called for denial of God, advocated atheism, and claimed that religion was the opiate of the masses. They crushed, killed, hanged, and exiled all who held other beliefs and views. Curiously, Romanian papers reported the killing of its leader Ceausescu under the banner: "The Enemy of Christ Is Killed on Christ's Birthday."

What all this means, then, is that the entire world and its peoples, east and west, are encountering rebirth, leaving behind years of experience. The cold war is easing between the two most powerful camps in history, and there will be fewer chances for confrontation between them. The world will be less threatened with destruction and atomic dust and the consequent termination of life on this planet.

The peoples of the world share two goals: First, they seek to combine, cooperate, and coordinate their efforts in all fields—military, political, and economic.

This is manifested in combinations formed of countries of the Gulf, the Arab Maghrib, and Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Yemen. We find this in Europe where a common community is two years away. We also find it in the growing harmony between the Atlantic and Warsaw pacts, which are increasingly cooperating with each other now that totalitarianism has collapsed.

Second, they seek freedom—of religion, of expression, etc.—as demonstrated by the Polish uprising, the fall of the Berlin wall, the execution of Ceausescu in Romania, and attempts by the Baltic republics to escape Moscow's grip.

The whole world will even witness a diminution of parliamentary representation in favor of the so-called popular democracy, where people govern themselves without the benefit of deputies or representatives.

The revolutionary committees, which derived legitimacy from the al-Fatih revolution, were established in Libya and resulted in popular change going beyond the committees.

The Salvation Revolution in the Sudan, as it threads its way among the pitfalls guided by the mistakes of others in implementing democracy, has given up on parliamentary representation that proved ineffectual and met its demise under party rule. The [revolution] has no doubt benefited from the practices and experiences of Libyan revolutionary committees and has tended, and still does, to form what is called Popular Committees for Oversight and Services to exercise those activities throughout the Sudan.

The next step is obviously, therefore, towards ruling the people, by the people, for the people.

Before we ask how, we must highlight an important point. The people's representatives to successive

Sudanese parliaments used to draw monthly salaries in addition to other perks such as cars, residences, land, and facilities. Another shortcoming was their lack of oversight, laxity, and dereliction in serving the interests of the people and the higher interests of the Sudan. I believe we all remember the peace initiative and the debate that it stirred.

Members of the Popular Committees for Oversight and Services, by contrast, volunteer for those duties without expectation of remuneration, incentives, or facilities. That is a sharp contrast between two systems that differ in style and form, as well as in implementation and practice.

Before we proceed with an answer to the question of "how," we must also acknowledge that the Sudan faces immense economic problems that are the legacy of 20 years, beginning with one-man rule and ending with partisanship and party rule. Resolving those problems should be our priority but this is a job for competent economists. It is also to be pointed out that all classes of people have reacted favorably to the concept of federal rule in the Sudan. That would be the optimum solution to fuse cultures, faiths, and traditions in one mold under a single Sudanese flag and constitution.

We must further point out that the so-called free world has been widely sympathetic to developments in other countries of the world whose peoples advocated an end to the rule and stewardship of Communist parties.

The Sudan, as a member of the community of nations, is affected, and also affects, developments around it by virtue of its considerable capabilities. It must be prepared to absorb and handle those variables, especially as the two Germanies unite and the European Community takes off in 1992. This final decade of the 20th century is witness to unification efforts by several nations such as the Yemens and the Koreas. It is also a decade of technological advances and a telecommunication revolution, via satellites that fill the skies.

We return now to our question of how the people can govern themselves and establish democracy.

The Sudan has had numerous experiences with democracies that were inherently flawed for being, in essence, a function of parties and factions interested in perpetuating themselves through trickery and deceit, with no regard or concern for the wishes of the people.

The Sudan was tricked for a long time by the persistent efforts of its rulers to impose one man's will and to mold the masses into a single political mold—the so-called Labor Force Federation or the Socialist Federation.

That was impossible to accomplish because it contradicts God-given laws of nature: "If God had willed, He would have made them one nation [Koran 42:8 (6)]."

The birth of the "Popular Committee for Oversight and Services" may then be considered a melting pot and the basis for establishing democracy apart from parties and factions.

I therefore believe that democracy should be established in the following manner:

- First, a single representative is to be selected and nominated by the Popular Committee in each borough, having won the "consensus" of those who will later form the "town assembly". They are to be freely nominated and elected with no interference or imposition.
- Second, three members are to be selected by the absolute consensus of their "town assemblies" throughout the country. They are to be known later as a "regional parliament," charged with resolving problems and enacting appropriate laws to govern all the affairs of that region.
- Third, and on the same condition of absolute consensus and free elections, two members are to be selected from each region to later form what is to be known as the People's Parliament in charge of over-all policies, the constitution, and all other state affairs.

That was my viewpoint in brief. I make no claim to perfection and the points I raise are open to give and take.

God is the ultimate guide.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Government Bans, Confiscates Publications

44000261A Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES
in English 25 Mar 90 p 4

[Text] The government has banned issue 24 of the Wall street Journal and ordered the confiscation of all copies as it was found to contain articles defamatory to a number of AGCC [Arab Gulf Cooperation Council] countries. This was stated in a decree issued by Shaikh Ahmed bin Hamed, Minister of Information and Culture, in Abu Dhabi on Thursday.

The decree also ordered the confiscation of all copies of Newsweek dated March 12, and issue 1,302 of the Sunday Mirror as both contained articles against public morals.

AFGHANISTAN**Najibullah Discusses Coup, Rebels, Intifadah**

*90AA0072A Nicosia AL-HURRIYAH
in Arabic 8 Apr 90 p 8*

[Interview with Afghan President Najibullah by Jum'ah al-Halifi in Kabul; "A Total of 90,000 Opponents Joined Us Since the Soviet Withdrawal; Shahnawaz Tanai Was Obstacle in Path of National Reconciliation; We Are Decisively Resolved on Peace and Reconciliation Policy; It Behooves Saudi Arabia To Advance Its Aid to Palestinian People, Not for Killing Muslim People in Afghanistan; Perestroyka Is Internal Process; Changes in Our Country Suit Our People's Special Circumstances; We Support Palestinian People's Intifadah Firmly and in Principled Manner; Continued Intifadah Will Force Israeli Occupation To Recognize Palestinian People's Rights;" first three paragraphs are AL-HURRIYAH introduction; date not specified]

[Text] Kabul Dispatch—When I arrived in Kabul five days after Defense Minister Shahnawaz Tanai's coup, Kabul, Afghanistan's capital, was still living in the atmosphere of the war of "anticipation." The only distinguishing mark that could be seen drawn on the faces of the Afghan people, both officials and citizens, was: Shahnawaz Tanai is still free inside Afghanistan and nobody can speculate on what will happen in a day, or even in an hour. The traces of the coup in the city are obvious to the eyewitness. Tanks and armored vehicles are deployed on the main streets and in front of party and government establishments. Troops carrying heavy machineguns and anti-armor rockets are stationed in public squares and markets. This is for Kabul, the capital. Outside the capital, the frontlines with the rebels flare up from time to time in more than one location. In Rodek, which is close to the capital, the government forces repelled an attack launched by the rebels a few days after the coup. The sounds of the capital artillery shelling the rebel positions could be heard all night long. In Khost, which is adjacent to the Pakistani borders, battles raged on uninterrupted throughout those days.

In this atmosphere which was becoming more apprehensive and frightful as a result of the rebel missiles which fell on Kabul daily at noontime, it was difficult, almost impossible, to meet Afghan President Najibullah who is said to have survived miraculously on the day of the coup from a missile which fell a few meters from his office at the Republic Palace.

I waited for nearly 10 days until I had the opportunity to conduct this interview with President Najibullah who answered a number of AL-HURRIYAH questions:

Aim of Coup Was To Destroy National Reconciliation Policy

[AL-HURRIYAH] Mr. president, the western press has said a lot about the latest coup, about its political

dimensions and objectives, and about the human losses resulting from it. Will you tell us about the true situation?

[Najibullah] It is possible that you have read and kept up with the official statements and communique issued by the government from 6 March (the day of the coup) to the present. In these statements and communique, we have clarified how the abortive Gulbuddin-Shahnawaz coup was staged with the help of the Pakistani military intelligence and with the purpose of destroying the national reconciliation policy and all its political gains. Their purpose was also to impede the relative progress made recently on the path of solving the Afghan issue.

Regarding the second part of your question, investigations are still being made and statistics compiled to find out the material and human losses which will be announced in the media shortly.

A Small Number of Opposition Leaderships and Organizations Reject National Reconciliation Policy

[AL-HURRIYAH] What, in your opinion, are the possibilities of the national reconciliation policy in light of the Afghan rebels' refusal to respond to it? Will there be changes in this policy in the wake of the staged coup?

[Najibullah] Before anything else, I would like to tell you that not all the opponents reject the national reconciliation policy. Numerous internal leaderships of the opposition and numerous influential forces and social figures inside and outside the country support the reconciliation policy. A small number of leaders of the opposition organizations who see no place for themselves in the peaceful atmosphere approaching the country reject the policy of national reconciliation and accord among the Afghan people. But we are firmly resolved to carry on with this policy and to entrench it. I can add that the coup makers were one of the major obstacles on the path of the national reconciliation policy. With their failure, this obstacle has been eliminated and the path is now more open than ever before to the Afghan people to crystallize this policy.

Two Thirds of the Opposition's Field Commands Do Not Fight Us Now

[AL-HURRIYAH] But are there tangible given facts in this regard?

[Najibullah] I will tell you that for the sake of the national reconciliation policy, we are in the midst of a process of dialogues and meetings at various levels with the opposition forces inside and outside the country. We will carry on and will develop this process. The reconciliation policy has been received by numerous parties with acceptance and support. There is only a handful who do not see their interest in this policy but in the continuation of war and of bloodshed. This handful rejects the peace proposals. Moreover, there are constant disagreements between the opposition forces on the position to be taken toward these proposals. I can also

say that from the time the national reconciliation policy was announced to the present time, two thirds of the opposition's field leaderships have not fought against us. They have either joined the reconciliation policy bandwagon or have concluded cease-fire protocols with us. Besides, more than 90,000 military people and civilians from the opposition ranks have joined us since the limited return of the Soviet military forces [as published]. These figures are increasing constantly. There is no doubt that you hear and see through the media reports of the opposition groups that join us. In this regard, we devote our attention to the opposition's field leaderships at home because they are the ones who shoulder the burden of the fighting.

Nobody Supports the Seven-Party Alliance

[AL-HURRIYAH] So it can be said that the opposition's seven-party alliance, which is present in Pakistan, is the only side that rejects the national reconciliation policy?

[Najibullah] Yes, and this is why nobody supports this alliance. The refugees in Pakistan and in other countries hold an opinion opposed to the seven-party alliance. The nine-party alliance (present in Iran) does not support the seven-party alliance either. Moreover, the seven-party alliance is not supported by the intellectuals, the technocrats, the ex-government officials, and the supporters of ex-King Zahir Shah. Furthermore, the seven-party alliance itself suffers from disagreements. There are now those who say that the provisional government formed by the alliance recently is illegitimate because its legal term has expired and that new elections must be held. The election formula proposed by this alliance is rejected by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar. Yunis Khalis (a leader of the seven-party alliance) says that this formula is illegal. Lately, Muhammad Nabi and Din Muhammad, the ministers of interior and defense in the opposition government, have said that they cannot guarantee secure and orderly elections if they are held in the areas they control because the various factions (in the seven-party alliance) will fight each other as a result of their disagreements.

In addition to this, new disputes have developed within the ranks of the seven-party alliance, especially since Shahnawaz Tanai joined Gulbuddin Hikmatyar. The alliance considers the Shahnawaz-Gulbuddin coup an attempt to seize and monopolize the power and to exclude the alliance from it. Moreover, conflicts have developed between the alliance and the Pakistani military intelligence for the same reason. The alliance has criticized the Pakistani military intelligence for excluding it from the coup plan. Because Gulbuddin has direct contacts with the Saudi Wahhabis, he too has disagreements with Iran, with the Afghan refugees living there, and with the nine-party alliance which denounces Gulbuddin. He also has his disagreements with the supporters of ex-King Zahir Shah because he rejects the return of the king and his followers to the country and rejects the role Zahir Shah may play in establishing peace in Iran.

I will tell you briefly that on top of these disagreements, many of the opposition's field leaderships at home have rejected the act perpetrated by Shahnawaz and Gulbuddin. Thus, this two-man alliance and the act it perpetrated has helped create an alliance consisting of a number of forces. This is the path we are following now, i.e. the path of uniting the largest number of forces that believe in peace, because the ground for such a broad alliance has already developed. Therefore, I say that I am very optimistic regarding the possibility of implementing the national reconciliation policy in the future.

It Behooves Saudi Arabia To Support Palestinian Strugglers

[AL-HURRIYAH] Mr. president, what is your assessment of your relations with the Arab countries and of their position on the Afghan issue? What are the dimensions of the Saudi intervention in your affairs?

[Najibullah] The Afghan people are tied by historical, religious, cultural, and economic relations with the Arab peoples. The Republic of Afghanistan is also tied by good relations to numerous Arab countries and it is determined to develop and entrench these relations. We are eager for strong friendly relations with the entire Arab world on the basis of respect for independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-intervention in domestic affairs. In this regard, I hope that Saudi Arabia, in its capacity as an Islamic state and with its awareness of the latest facts and developments, will not permit further financial and military aid to go to the factions opposing the Afghanistan Government so that the war between the brothers and the killing of Muslims may not continue in our country. I also believe that all sincere Muslims agree with me that it behooves Saudi Arabia to provide this aid to the Palestinian strugglers and people who are fighting against the Israeli occupation instead of providing it in a haphazard manner in order that the war against an Islamic state such as Afghanistan may continue. It is my belief that this would serve the Islamic world's interest.

[AL-HURRIYAH] There is talk in Afghanistan about approaching internal changes compatible with the international developments and with perestroyka in particular. How true is this?

[Najibullah] To begin, I wish to make it clear that there are changes at various political and social levels in Afghanistan and that they include the national reconciliation policy and the new basic constitution. Moreover, the changes and developments occurring in Pakistan are compatible primarily with the Afghani society's special circumstances and with the needs of all factions of the people. These changes are not made to keep up pace with perestroyka, which is an internal Soviet process. The changes in Afghanistan will continue to be compatible in the future with the country's changing conditions and circumstances.

We Stand With and Support Intifadah

[AL-HURRIYAH] How do you view the Middle East conditions under the umbrella of the escalating Israeli terrorism against the Palestinian people's intifadah [uprising] and the umbrella of the Soviet Jewish immigration to occupied Palestine?

[Najibullah] There is no doubt that the Arab states, including the state of Palestine, have expressed their willingness to establish peace in the Middle East region in a manner that serves all peoples of the region. But by intransigence and by using the logic of force, Israel is impeding the positive conditions that have been created to establish peace. The Palestinian people's intifadah, to which all the people's factions and political forces contribute, has come to reflect these people's just rights. Continuation of the intifadah will force the Israeli occupation to recognize the Palestinian people's rights. We in Afghanistan, both the government and the people, are in principled and definite solidarity with the intifadah. We support it and denounce the Israeli oppression and terrorism against the Palestinian people.

INDIA**Text of President's 12 March Speech to Parliament**

46001430 New Delhi PATRIOT
in English 13 Mar 90 p 7

[Words in boldface as published]

[Text] Following is the text of President R Venkataraman's address to both houses of Parliament on the opening day of the budget session, on Monday.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to this first session of Parliament in 1990. I extend to you my best wishes for the successful completion of the budgetary and legislative business ahead.

The elections recently held to the Legislative Assemblies in nine States and one Union Territory have, by and large, reaffirmed the verdict of the people in the last Lok Sabha elections in favour of change.

My Government assumed office only a hundred days ago. In this short span it has already taken a number of positive initiatives in several spheres to fulfil the pledges it had made. My Government has responded to this sacred trust reposed in it by our people.

JK situation: The situation in Jammu and Kashmir, which had deteriorated for the last few years, continues to be serious. Government has noted with particular concern that external forces have tried to encourage terrorism, to internationalise the issue, and to organise intrusions across the border. My Government has acted firmly against these forces, Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and my Government will not brook any interference from others in our internal affairs. The

State Government is taking all possible measures to check and curb terrorism and secessionism and to restore normalcy. My Government will take positive steps to remove all legitimate grievances and to accelerate development activity in the State.

Punjab issue: Government attaches high priority to restoring normalcy in Punjab and generating a feeling of confidence among the people of that State. Steps have been taken to involve all sections of the people and find a solution to the problem in a spirit of reconciliation and consensus. The State administration will be firm and fair and there will be no compromise with terrorism and secessionism. The Government has fulfilled the promise of repealing the 59th Constitution amendment which contained special provisions for promulgating emergency applicable only to the State. My Government seeks the cooperation of all to create conditions conducive to the restoration of the democratic process in the State.

Defeating communalism: We are proud of the secular basis of our nationhood. Government is taking measures to strengthen secularism. The national Integration Council has been reconstituted and will meet soon.

The communal situation has improved visibly since the Government assumed office. My Government has taken a fresh initiative with a view to resolving the Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute amicably. The solution of such an emotive issue should be arrived at through dialogue and consensus. A three-member committee has been set up by the government to find an acceptable solution.

Government has initiated several measures to provide for relief and rehabilitation of those affected by communal violence, including the victims of the 1984 riots in Delhi and the 1989 riots in Bhagalpur. Special courts have been set up in Delhi and Meerut to try cases connected with communal riots. The Bihar government has been asked to set up special courts to try cases connected with the riots in Bhagalpur. No effort will be spared to guarantee full protection to the minorities and to maintain communal harmony. Government is effectively monitoring the implementation of the 15-point programme for the welfare of minorities. A panel has been set up to suggest steps for the implementation of the Gujral committee recommendations on the promotion of Urdu.

To strengthen the national fabric it is of utmost importance that the Centre and the states work together in a spirit of cooperation, goodwill and harmony. To ensure smooth centre-state relations Government has decided to set up an inter-state council. The first meeting of the council will be held soon.

Government has decided to set up a National Security Council with a view to evolving long term policies appropriate to the regional and international environment.

My Government would like to assure our people regarding the high state of our defence preparedness and the morale of the armed forces. We are fully prepared to meet any external threat.

The problems of ex-servicemen will receive full consideration. Government is examining the modalities for implementing Government's committee to the proposal of "one-rank-one-pension" for ex-servicemen.

Poll reforms: The dignity of the nation and the individual rest in no small measure, upon strong and vibrant democratic institutions. These in turn are closely linked with certain sound and lasting values in our public life. My Government will fight those trends which have, in recent years, sapped our democratic institutions of their vitality and strength. Government is taking steps to ensure that our election system is rid of the debilitating effect of money and muscle power.

A committee on electoral reforms has been constituted comprising representatives of political parties and eminent persons. A bill has been introduced in the Parliament for the creation of the institution of the "Lok Pal."

Even the highest political offices in the country, including that of the Prime Minister, will be placed under the purview of the "Lok Pal." The Government will introduce suitable legislation to set up a high level Judicial commission for the appointment of High Court and Supreme Court judges and for the transfer of High Court judges. I have also asked the Parliament to reconsider the Post Office (amendment) Bill. The Bill had created wide-spread concern that it would seriously interfere with the citizen's right to privacy.

Media: A free media imports strength and vitality to the democratic process. My Government has already initiated steps to grant autonomy to the electronic media. The "Prasar Bharati Bill" was introduced in the last session of Parliament. Government is committed to ensure freedom of the press. Concrete steps will be taken to guarantee the people's right to information and legislation will be introduced to amend the Official Secrets Act.

Economy: The year 1989-90 has been a difficult year for the economy. The growth of production slowed down in both agriculture and industry compared with growth in the previous year. The deceleration in the industrial sector was especially sharp with production growing by only 4.2 percent in the first six months. The slow down in growth has been accompanied by an intensification of macro-economic imbalances which have built up in the past few years.

The budgetary situation deteriorated significantly in the course of 1989-90. When the new government took office, the budget deficit had reached Rs 13,790 crore. Prices came under pressure in 1989 despite the fact that it was the second year of good harvests the balance of payments, which had already come under strain in

1988-89, continued to show a large financing gap in 1989-90. The external debt position deteriorated further.

Since assuming office, my Government has given the highest priority to improving the management of the economy. The procurement of rice has touched a new high at 9.32 million tonnes. Food grain stocks in the central pool have been augmented and now stand at 11.67 million tonnes compared to 8.34 million tonnes at this time last year. Special efforts are being made to augment supplies of essential commodities through the public distribution system and to improve the functioning of the system. Prices of essential commodities such as rice, sugar and tea which had risen sharply earlier have shown a downward trend in the three months since the new Government assumed office. However the Government is fully aware that the overall price situation continues to be difficult. There will be no complacency on this front and control of inflation will continue to be our first priority in economic management.

The balance of payments problem demands urgent attention. This problem is also basically a reflection of the fiscal crisis facing the country and resolution of the problem requires the restoration of the fiscal balance. There is significant scope for efficient import substitution and reducing the growth in consumption of bulk commodities where our dependence on imports is increasing.

However, the only lasting solution to our external payments difficulties is to greatly strengthen the export effort. There are distinctly positive trends in the current year with exports has to be mounted to intensify our export drive. Rapid growth of exports, especially exports involving high domestic value addition would receive a high priority in the strategy for economic management. Efficient import substitution combined with rapid growth in exports will ensure that the economy remains on the path of self-reliant growth. A new policy aims at simplifying cumbersome procedures which lead to unnecessary delays and breed corruption. The policy will contain special incentives designed to boost exports.

Eighth Plan: The Planning commission has been reconstituted and has begun to work on the approach to the eighth five-year Plan. The approach will be finalised shortly and submitted to the National Development Council for approval. The thrust to the eighth Plan will be to ensure rapid growth with a special focus on the critical objectives of employment generation, alleviation of poverty and redressal of the imbalance between rural and urban areas. A key feature of the eight Plan will be the introduction of structural and institutional implementation.

Our farms are the backbone of our economy. Their well-being and prosperity are the strength and prosperity of India. Sustained growth in rural incomes is a necessary condition for successful industrialisation. Government will pay special attention to the needs of the agricultural and rural sectors, including its requirements

for economic and social infrastructure. Our aim will be to achieve substantial increases in the yield of major crops, especially in un- irrigated rain-fed and dry land areas. Government is firmly committed to assuring remunerative prices to farmers backed by adequate market support arrangement.

To this end, the Government will introduce changes in the formula for computing costs of production in order to ensure full accounting of all costs. This new system will be reflected in the support prices to be announced for the next Kharif season. Government would also associate representatives of the farming community in the formulation of agricultural policies. With this in view, a standing committee on agriculture including representatives of the farming community has been set up. Government is committed to a genuine panchayati raj system to enable the rural population to participate fully in planning and development. Specific proposals in this regard, as well as proposals for civic bodies will be put before the inter-state council.

Agriculture: Water resources development is vital for our agricultural strategy and my Government will give high priority to this sector. Government is also committed to find solutions for inter-state water disputes through dialogue and negotiations with the concerned states.

The prosperity of the agricultural sector is inseparable from the sell-being of agricultural and other rural labour. This vast segment is still unorganised and exploited. My Government is committed to working our arrangements for giving them fair wages and a larger share of the fruits of rural development so as to provide them a better quality of life. As an earnest of our commitment to the weaker sections some more land reform laws are being placed in the ninth schedule of the constitution to protect them from any challenge by vested interests. Government also proposed to introduce a scheme of debt relief for small farmers, landless agricultural labourers, artisans and weavers on loans up to Rs 10,000. A detailed scheme in this regard will be announced in this session.

Efforts to accelerate agricultural growth must be accompanied by measures to encourage rapid growth of industry. My Government's industrial policies will be designed to serve the objectives of growth, expansion of productive employment, and balanced regional development. Healthy growth of the industrial sector requires a sustained growth in productivity and technological modernisation. Our industry must be made more competitive internationally to provide the basis for sustained growth in export performance. My Government will take steps to ensure the spread of industry to the rural and backward areas of the country. Development of small scale and agro and rural industries will receive special attention to facilitate harnessing of local resources and skills and the creation of gainful employment. Towards this end, a new department called the department of small scale industries and agro and rural industries has been set up.

My Government accords great importance to the public sector. The productivity of this sector and its ability to generate adequate investible resources is vital to our economic growth. Government are committed to ensuring functional autonomy of the public sector and creating conditions conducive to its efficient functioning within a framework of wider public accountability. My Government will present a White Paper on the public sector later this year.

Science and technology: Science and technology have an important role in our efforts to attain self-reliance and raise the standards of living of our people, particularly of the weaker sections. Science and technology inputs will be used for generating and sustaining employment and increasing productivity in rural areas. We are proud of our scientists. Their achievements in the frontier areas of science and technology, such as atomic energy, space research, advanced materials and biotechnology, have been substantial and scientific effort in these areas will get all encouragement from the Government. Our scientists have played a valuable role in strengthening our development and they deserve our fullest support. The remarkable achievements in the indigenous missile development programme are the result of their dedicated and laudable efforts and are landmarks in our technological development.

The labour force plays a role of crucial importance in the production of assets and yet their interests are not always adequately protected. Workers' participation in management can overcome this problem and also make for better productivity. To ensure this, suitable legislation is under examination.

Right to work: Government will strive to ensure for all citizens the right to work to enable them to earn a livelihood and to become participants in the task of nation building. Government will introduce a constitution amendment bill to enshrine the right to work as a fundamental right in the Constitution.

Environment: Protection of environment is essential for sustainable development. While conserving natural resources like forests, the basic needs of the people, especially the weaker sections, will be taken care of. Particular attention will be paid to the interests of the tribals.

The Bhopal gas tragedy is still vivid in our memory. There has been an unconscionable delay in providing relief and succour to the victims. My Government has already announced the decision to provide interim relief to those victims resident in the 36 affected municipal wards in Bhopal. The quantum of interim relief to be provided is Rs 360 crore. Various social action groups have filed petitions in the Supreme Court on the issue of an adequate compensation for the Bhopal gas victims. My Government has supported their petitions before the Supreme Court and will pursue the case for adequate compensation in the court. Government will also introduce legislation making it compulsory for factories and

installations using hazardous chemicals to have a minimum compensatory insurance cover. This would ensure that innocent victims of accidents occurring in the plants are provided immediate relief.

SC [Scheduled Castes], ST [Scheduled Tribes] reservations: The scheduled castes and tribes are one fourth of our population. There can be no real progress for us as a nation, unless we enable them to live with dignity. My Government is committed to strong affirmative action to redress the economic and social injustices which the scheduled castes and tribes continue to suffer. A beginning has been made and several concrete measures have already been taken. The constitution has been amended to extend, for another ten years, reservation for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the Lok Sabha and the state Vidhan Sabhas.

Legislation for preventing atrocities against them, which was passed in 1989 but was not operationalised has been brought into force with effect from 30 January 1990. A decision has been taken to fulfil the long standing and legitimate aspiration of the scheduled caste converters to Buddhism by extending to them the facilities available to the scheduled castes. A bill to give effect to this decision will be introduced during this session of Parliament. The other backward classes constitute another area of special concern to us and a Cabinet Committee has been set up to consider implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations.

As a measure of our concern for a section of our society facing the most severe found discrimination, it has been decided to accelerate the programme of finding alternative avenues of employment for scavengers.

The welfare of the handicapped is engaging special attention of my Government and it is proposed to give new depth to programmes for the rehabilitation of the handicapped.

Women: Women are among the most underprivileged section of Indian society. They continue to face discrimination, despite the constitutional guarantee of equality. Our policies and programmes will have, as their basis, the recognition of women's dignity and equality in law and every day life. Government is considering legislation to set up a national commission on women.

Youth: Youth have an important role in the transformation of society. My Government is sensitive to the concerns and aspirations of our youth. We look to our youth to build a new India based on equality and social justice. Society, on its part, owes a special responsibility to the youth. The best possible opportunities should therefore be open to them. We shall reorient youth policies to make them especially responsive to the need and aspirations of the rural youth. The Government has raised the upper age limit for the Civil Services Examination from 26 to 28 years, to help, in particular, youth from rural areas.

Education is essential for the full development of the people. However, we are still very far from our goal of universal literacy. My Government has taken steps for a review of education policy to make it relevant.

Health care: A sound health care system is an important individual and social requirement. To achievement the goal of health for all by 200 AD, greater emphasis will be laid on preventive and promotive aspects of primary health care. Effective control of population is also essential if we are to consolidate our economic gain and achievements and improve the quality of life of our people. Concrete steps are necessary to reflect the high priority which should be given to this area. There is need for a national consensus on this foreign policy. Our foreign policy is rooted in our commitment to nonalignment and our aspirations for a peaceful world, free of domination, exploitation and war. We welcome the profound changes that are taking place in the international scene and the transition from conflict and confrontation to cooperation and consensus. We will continue to contribute to cooperative global endeavours to promote disarmament, strengthen peace, eliminate racial discrimination, provide environmental protection and build a more equitable world economic order.

Consistent with the high priority attached by my Government to revitalising relations with our neighbours, we have initiated an intensive dialogue for finding mutually acceptable solutions to out-standing problems, strengthening our friendship and enlarging the areas of our cooperation. These efforts are already showing results.

The two visits to India by the King of Bhutan and the signing of the new agreement on trade and commerce reflects the further consolidation of our traditionally close ties with Bhutan.

Our cordial relations with Bangladesh have been strengthened by the recent visit to that country by the Ministry of External Affairs.

Our close friendly relationship with the Maldives was enhanced by the holding of the first meeting of the Indo-Maldives joint commission in Male. The President of Maldives will pay a state visit to India later this month.

My Government has taken early initiatives for a comprehensive solution of all outstanding problems with Nepal. Recent talks at the Foreign Ministerial and official level have led to greater understanding of mutual interests and concerns. Our close and age-old relationship with the people of Nepal will be further strengthened.

The bulk of the Indian Peace Keeping Force in Sri Lanka has returned home and we hope to complete the phased de-induction by the end of this month. Our armed forces have done a highly commendable job under difficult circumstances. On behalf of the nation, I would like to pay a tribute to the valour, dedication and discipline of our armed forces and their sacrifices. India stands for the

unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. We expect the Government of Sri Lanka to fully honour all their obligations under the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement and ensure the safety, security and democratic aspirations of its Tamil speaking population. My Government believes that this would be in the interest of peace in Sri Lanka, harmony among all sections of the Sri Lankan people, and stability in the region.

Our relations with Pakistan, have unfortunately, come under strain as a result of its continued efforts to encourage and aid terrorism and secessionist activity in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. My Government has made it very clear that we will not tolerate such interference in our internal affairs. We have impressed on the Government of Pakistan the need to abide by the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement, which has helped to maintain peace and provide an enduring framework for our relations. We hope such saner counsels will prevail in Pakistan as would preserve peace and enable us to normalise relations with that country.

We believe that ties between countries in South Asia must be maintained in tune with global trends towards dialogue, openness and cooperation. SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] provides a valuable institutional framework for promoting such regional cooperation. We hope to expand the activities of SAARC to encompass cooperation in key economic areas, for the benefit of all the people of our region.

We value our traditional relationship with Afghanistan and are taking steps to strengthen it further. We hope that there will be an early stoppage of bloodshed in Afghanistan, with strict implementation of Geneva Accords and a political solution, arrived at by the Afghans themselves that would preserve Afghanistan's status as a sovereign, independent and non-aligned country.

We have continued to strengthen our ever growing time-honoured friendship and multi-faceted cooperation with the Soviet Union. Our relationship is firmly anchored in the Indo-soviet treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation. Our close understanding with the Soviet Union is manifested in a shared vision of a nuclear weapons free and non-violent world.

Our relations with the United States of America continue to grow and diversify. The United States is our major trading partner and an important source of high technology. Our growing bilateral cooperation in various spheres reflect greater maturity in the mutual appreciation of the longer term interests and objectives shared by our two democracies.

The pace of diplomatic exchanges between India and China is being accelerated, contributing to the development of mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of Panchsheel. The foreign minister of China will be visiting India soon to carry forward the dialogue. We will

continue our efforts to find a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable settlement of the boundary question, consistent with our national interests.

We hope to see an early end to the conflict in Cambodia. A comprehensive solution should be based on full respect for Cambodia's sovereignty and integrity and should ensure the non-return of the genocidal policies of the recent past.

It is a matter of deep satisfaction that the last bastion of colonialism in Africa is at long last crumbling, with Namibia poised for independence. The Prime Minister will represent our people in the independence day ceremonies in Namibia next week. In South Africa too, signs of change are discernible. We share the worldwide rejoicing in the release of Nelson Mandela, the symbol of the struggle against apartheid, and we look forward to his visit to India a national committee for felicitating Mr Mandela has been formed under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. My Government firmly believes that sustained international pressure must continue to be maintained on the South African regime to bring about the early dismantling of apartheid.

We pledge our continued support to the valiant people of Palestine in their just struggle for a homeland of their own in a peaceful West Asia. We look forward to President Yasser Arafat's visit to India later this month.

Members will be called upon in the session to consider various measures. The railway budget and general budget will be brought before you. You will also be considering the Finance Bill 1990-91, the Prasar Bharati (Broadcasting Corporation of India) Bill 1989, the Lok Pal Bill 1989, the Wild Life Protection (Amendment) Bill 1990, and various other legislative measures.

There is a fresh hope in the atmosphere. My Government is working purposefully for building a strong India, an India based on the dignity of the individual, an India where the benefits of development flow to all, particularly the weaker sections, the poorest of the poor. The task is not easy. The challenges are tremendous. But we shall overcome. We are determined to see that our people shall have a brighter tomorrow.

New Kashmir Front Wants Kashmir Independent 46001453 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 6 Mar 90 p 7

[Text] Jammu, 5 Mar (The Times of India News Service)—A new front called the Tehrike Hurriyate Kashmir (movement for the liberation of Kashmir) has been formed by some religio-political organisations to carry on the separatist movement in Jammu and Kashmir.

Mian Abdul Qayyum, former president of the Kashmir bar association, will be the convener of the front which has 11 organisations as its constituents including the

Jamaat-e-Islami, the People's League, the Mahaz-e-Azadi, the Islamic Students League, the Islami Jamiat-e-Tuloba, and the leading women's organisation, Dukhtaran-e-Millat.

Significantly, the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front [JKLF], which has been spearheading the terrorist activities in the state, has not joined the front.

The JKLF and the front constituents have two basic differences: first, the JKLF stands for an independent state of Jammu and Kashmir, while most of the front constituents believe in the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan.

Second, the front constituents are striving for the establishment of an Islamic state contrary to the JKLF's preference for a secular one.

The convener of the front is Mr Qayyum, who, along with Dr A. Guru and Justice Mr M.L. Bhat, has successfully negotiated the release of five terrorists from police custody in exchange for the kidnapped daughter of the Union home minister, Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, last December.

Though expected for some time, the formation of the front indicates that the separatist forces in the state are keen to bring about cohesion in their ranks. Since in their perception, the liberation movement has entered a decisive phase for the government. The front may prove a useful forum to negotiate with for a settlement within a framework of the Indian Constitution.

The name of the front suggests that it stands for the liberation of only Kashmir and not the Jammu region of the state which also has a substantial population of Muslims.

If past experience is any indication, the front constituents themselves might not hold on together for a long time once the massive public support subsides, as it happened in the case of the Muslim United Front formed in 1986 by parties like the Awami National Conference of Mr G.M. Shah, the Jamaat-e-Islami, and the Ummat-e-Islami.

Second Line of Defense Along Pakistan Border Planned

*46001454 Madras THE HINDU
in English 10 Mar 90 p 7*

[Text] Jammu, March 9. The Border Security Force (BSF) is planning to lay the second line of defense along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) to prevent infiltration from Pakistan, the Director General of the BSF, Mr H.P. Bhatnagar, has said.

Talking to reporters at a function in connection with "Exercise Agni Ban" which concluded here yesterday, Mr Bhatnagar said the second line of defence would enable the forces to check all vulnerable points of infiltration through passes and gullies along the LAC in

Jammu and Kashmir. He said the need for this was felt as most of the border routes and gullies were not adequately covered. Additional deployment of force for the purpose would be made from the reserves.

The "Exercise Agni Ban", which commenced on February 28, was held to test various operations of war, including border defence by BSF battalions in Jammu with maximum stress on toughening and speed march and assigned tasks during peace and war.

Mr Bhatnagar said BSF planned to deploy seven battalions in Jammu and Kashmir for the second line of defence and more battalions would be raised to meet the requirements. he said 32 companies of BSF were deployed in the Kashmir Valley to assist the civil administration in maintaining law and order and dealing with subversives. More companies would be sent soon, he said.

Steps to tackle militancy: Asked whether he was satisfied with the measures taken in the Valley to tackle militancy, he said "we have to be more firm".

Replying to the allegation that the security forces had not been able to recover enough arms and ammunition from the subversive hideouts, Mr Bhatnagar said the security forces were facing difficulty because of cross-firing incidents in which innocent people were the casualties. Militants usually fired taking innocent people as cover.

However, the Government has to take a "conscious decision" in tackling the subversives as they had made their "mobile shelter" in the interiors of the city and places of worship, Mr Bhatnagar said.

He said security forces were now operating more easily as they had been given the powers of search and seizure. "Even then we depend on the assistance of the local police", he said.

The Director General ruled out the possibility of large scale involvement of Afghan Mujahidin with Kashmiri militants. "Their number is insignificant."

Later, the Inspector General of BSF, Jammu Range, Mr P.C. Dogra, gave details of the "Agni Ban" exercise to newsmen. He said during the exercise the troops had to be self contained for nine days and the bordermen carried out their tasks effectively and efficiently.

He said the exercise in which BSF troops of all ranks participated, proved that its personnel could stand the vagaries of nature with resolution and dominate any kind of situation wherever placed.

Mr Bhatnagar presented the trophies to the winning battalions.—PTI

Commerce Minister Discusses Stand on 'Super 301'

**46001427 New Delhi PATRIOT
in English 16 Mar 90 p 7**

[Text] The Government's strategy has been to put as much international pressure as possible to deter the United States from pursuing the path of 'unilateralism' in connection with 'Super-301,' reports UNI.

Commerce Minister Arun Nehru told the Rajya Sabha on Thursday that India's stand had received wide support in the international community and the U.S. action was criticised by both the developed and developing countries.

"We have made it clear that the Government of India will not participate in any negotiations, bilateral or otherwise, under threat of retaliation," the U.S. government has, however, not yet approached India for negotiations in the context of 'Super-301.'

Under the 'Super-301' provision of the U.S. omnibus trade and competitiveness act of 1989, the U.S. government is required to identify 'priority practices' of foreign countries whose elimination was likely to have the most significant potential to increase U.S. exports.

Mr Nehru said the government was also opposed to negotiations establishing linkage between multilaterally agreed concessions in trade in goods and changes in policy lying within the domain of autonomous national economic policies.

India, he said, had also taken up the matter in the GATT council, in the meetings of the Uruguay round negotiating groups as well as in the surveillance body established in the Uruguay round.

Taking into account the number of pervasiveness of trade practices under the act, the U.S. government is also required to identify priority foreign countries for initiating investigation to determine whether the practices were actionable under the Super 301.

Advisory Committee on Agriculture Formed in Lok Sabha

**46001426 Madras THE HINDU
in English 16 Mar 90 p 7**

[Words in boldface as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 15 March—The Government has constituted a seven-member advisory committee to guide the Government on matters relating to agriculture, the Lok Sabha was informed today.

The Deputy Prime Minister and Agriculture Minister, Mr Devi Lal, told Mr K.S. Rao in a written reply that the members of the Committee are: Mr Sharad Joshi, Mr Bhanu Pratap Singh, Mr V. Sobhanadreeswara Rao, Dr Krishnan Kanungo, Mr Kumbharam Arya, Mr Virendra Verma and Mr Jagit Singh Ghungrana.

Replying to a question by Mr D.M. Putte Gowda, the Minister said the Government has appointed a high-power committee to go into the issues relating to treating agriculture on a par with industry. The Committee is expected to submit its report in six months.

Replying to a spate of questions, Mr Devi Lal said the Government would implement the recommendations of the high-power committee as it was keen on bringing agriculture on a par with industry.

Our Special Correspondent reports:

The high-power Committee on Agriculture has expressed the view that the public distribution system should be rationalised with policy modifications to provide remunerative prices to producers, who have been put on an unfavourable terms of trade because of the time-worn policies based on the principle of subsidies.

Stating that subsidies have hardly reached producers, the Committee said the farmers in India are suffering not because consumers and taxpayers (in the form of subsidy) are paying less, but because about half of what they are paying is being cornered by middlemen—official and non-official. Mr Bhanu Pratap Singh, chairman of the Committee, and former Union Agriculture Minister, said it was largely the industry—in the private and public sectors—providing inputs like fertilisers, which gains from subsidies.

The Food Corporation of India (FCI) has also come in for criticism for the high cost of its maintenance. The subsidy to the FCI increased from Rs 650 crores in 1980-81 to Rs 2,200 crores in 1987-88, while the increase in the quantity of foodgrains supplied in the public distribution system was only 29 percent during the two seasons.

Mr Singh said while there was a consensus on the points discussed in the Committee, the views and suggestions expressed are only provisional. The Committee felt the present agricultural pricing and marketing policy has become out of date and lost its relevance in the context of the present agricultural situation, which has maintained a steady growth in production.

Improving terms of trade: Calling for a drastic change in the policy, the Committee has made suggestions to give the farmer better terms of trade. The important measures are: withdrawal of controls on movement of grains, processing, marketing and export of farm products, except in years of scarcity; announcement of parity of prices for foodgrains (with industrial products) which fully compensates for the rise in costs and the farmer's other necessities of life, with reference to an agreed base year and sets the limits between which foodgrain trade will have to operate. This can be done by fixing the floor price to be called the 'support price,' below which no farmer will sell his produce in distress and a ceiling price to be called the 'intervention price,' beyond which no

consumer would be required to pay. If the trade-cooperatives or private units—crossed these limits in operations the powers of intervention of the State will come into play. The 'support' and 'intervention' prices will be below and above the parity prices, preferably at the levels of 85 and 115 percent.

Chain of rural godowns: Another suggestion is that of establishing a chain of rural godowns with warehousing facilities to obviate compulsory sale to agencies, often at unremunerative price. The go-downs should be controlled by the Central Warehousing Corporation and the warehouses allowed to function as sales agency on behalf of farmers selling farm products to buyers, consumers, cooperatives, government agencies—at a price set by the owner of the stock. The farmers should also be encouraged to open cooperative shops in cities to sell their produce directly to consumers, so long as they do not transgress the limit set by 'intervention price.'

The Committee believes that such a system would help the farmers with an assured support price, the consumers with supplies at less than the 'intervention price.' Private and cooperative trade will know the limits within which they have to operate. Farmers will be saved from distress sale and the Government will have the facility to locate and acquire foodgrains in times of need.

The Committee felt that the policy of keeping food prices depressed, through State intervention in foodgrain trade and providing subsidies to FCI to enable it sell foodgrains at less than their economic cost, has failed to relieve the suffering of the vast majority of the rural poor. On the other hand, this policy is responsible for stunting the growth of agriculture, which has vast potential for production.

Polarization Between Muslim, Hindu Voters Noted

46001436 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 7 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Text] Muslim voters in several assembly constituencies appear to have changed their voting pattern in the recent elections mainly because of the Shiv Sena's threat. A feeling of insecurity prevailed particularly among the poor Muslims.

However, there is a fear that the Muslims might become aggressive now and there might be violence during the Bombay municipal elections. The fear was expressed by Mr Sajid Rashid, a Janata Dal candidate in Nehru Nagar, Kurla, while talking to this paper.

There was never so much polarisation among Muslim and Hindu voters in the past and it was a pity, said Mr Umar Kazi, a former Congress MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly], now in the Janata Dal. By and large, Hindus have voted for Hindu candidates and Muslims for Muslims.

In constituencies with a large Muslim population, the Muslims have swung heavily in favour of the strong candidate, whether from the Muslim League, the Congress or the Janata Dal.

It is because of this polarisation that, for the first time in Maharashtra since 1972, the Muslim League has captured one seat (Umarkhadi) and won a substantial number of votes in Amboli in Bombay and Balapur in Akola district.

In Aurangabad (West), the Muslims ignored the Janata Dal's Muslim candidate, Dr Jafar Nakshabandi, a gentleman but "a political novice," and voted for an independent corporator, Mr Javed Hasan Khan, giving him nearly 60,000 votes. Because of the polarisation, the Sena candidate, Mr Chandrakant Khaire, won by a margin of 30,000 votes. The RPI [Republican Party of India], for which the Congress left the seat, was nowhere in the picture.

In Nehru Nagar, where the Congress fielded an utter novice, Miss Saroj Bhosale-Naik, daughter of Mr Babasaheb Bhosale, the Muslims swung heavily in favour of Mr Sajid Rashid of the Janata Dal, though he is quite new to politics.

Mr Rashid said such was the pervading sentiment in the constituency, that it became a fight between a Hindu and a Muslim, not between the Janata Dal and the Shiv Sena or the Congress.

In the last few days, the congress supporters asked the people to vote for the Sena candidate, he said.

In Malegaon, because of the Muslim swing, Mr Nihal Ahmed won by a margin of over 30,000 instead of the narrow margin he had in the previous election. The swing occurred particularly because of the presence of a BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] candidate in the constituency for the first time. Almost all Hindu votes went to the BJP candidate, Mr Prahlad Sharma. Mr Sharma polled 26,000 votes.

In Unmarkhadi, it is not only alleged bogus voting and booth-capturing that helped Mr Bashir Patel (Muslim League) but he has done a lot of work as a corporator and, more importantly, there was the communal factor.

In the 1985 elections, significantly, the Muslim majority had elected Miss Chandrika Kenia (congress) defeating Mr Abdul Chorwadwala (ML) by a margin of 6,000 votes. The League won this year's election by a margin of 22,000 votes, suggesting how large the swing his year was.

Another clear swing of the Muslim vote is demonstrated in the Trombay constituency where Mr Javed Khan, minister of state for education won by a margin of over 3,000 against the Bombay mayor, Mr Sharad Acharya, of the Shiv Sena.

In the 1985 elections, Mr Javed Khan had won with a margin of 16,000 votes, polling 38,000 votes.

In the recent elections, the Muslims almost en bloc rallied around Mr Javed Khan. As a result, Mr Malik Liaquak Husein (Janata Dal) polled only 5,839 votes, which included quite a few Hindu votes. The Hindus ignored the former minister, Dr Lalita Rao, who was an independent, and a Maratha Mahasangh candidate, Mr Vithal Gaikwad. Most Hindus rallied around Mr Acharya. He lost some Hindu votes because he had antagonised a few Sena workers.

In Amboli, the Muslim League candidate, Mr Ismail Makwana, got over 39,000 votes this time, while in 1985, the League polled only around 14,000 votes and, in 1980, only about 3,800 votes.

In the recent elections, Mr Makwana nearly pipped the victorious Shiv Sena candidate, Mr Shantaram Ambre. Mr Makwana's good showing is attributed partly to his work as a corporator and the Janata Dal's relatively weak candidate, Mr Motiram Bhave.

Dr Rafiq Zakaria, a prominent Janata Dal leader and former minister, said contrary to the impression created by the media, Muslims had voted in large number for the Janata Dal.

Only where the Janata Dal candidates were weak, did the Muslims vote for the Muslim League or the Congress. In Nagpada, his meetings were well- attended, but because the Dal candidate was weak, the party did not fare well.

The Muslim League exploited the situation. The Congress got a good number of Muslim votes only where the party fielded Muslim candidates.

In the Lok Sabha elections, the Congress candidate got a lead of 17,000 in the Aurangabad (west) segment but in the assembly poll, the RPI, the congress ally, lost his deposit. The Dal candidate could not exploit the situation. Dr Zakaria said the Janata Dal lacked funds, jeeps and posters and did not even have enough polling agents.

The performance of the Muslim candidates fielded by the BJP and the Sena in Muslim-majority areas shows that the parties have little credibility among the Muslim masses. In fact, the Sena arouses the strongest feelings amongst them.

Fielding a glamorous candidate like Mrs Anjum Ahmed cannot give credibility to the Sena in the minority community, observers point out. Said one Muslim leader: "Even if the Sena fields a maulana, he would lose badly in a Muslim area."

However, Mr Shabbir Shaikh, fielded by the Sena in Hindu-Majority Ambernath, managed to win because of Hindu support. The Congress had fielded a weak candidate, Mr Sanjay Dutt, in this constituency. Moreover, Mr Shaikh was well-known as a Sena activist for many years.

The anti-Muslim utterances by Mr Bal Thackeray have created considerable alarm, particularly among poor

Muslims. There have also been quite a few clashes this year, and in some cases poor Muslims have been terrorised.

A lot of tension has arisen in various places following election victory processions. In Nanded, the Sena insisted on taking out the procession through Muslim areas.

Several clashes have also occurred in the last few days between Shiv Sainiks and Dalit youth in the BDD chawls in Bombay. The Sena has been persistently hostile to Dalits, particularly neo-Buddhists.

Criminal Conspiracy Alleged in Submarine Purchase

Details of Case

46001438 Madras THE HINDU
in English 6 Mar 90 p 1

[Words in boldface as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 5 March—A case of criminal conspiracy, criminal breach of trust/embezzlement, bribery, corruption, criminal misconduct by public servants, among other offences, was filed by the Central Bureau of Investigation in the court of Mr Lokeshwar Prasad, Special Judge, in the multi-crore Howaldstwerke Deutsche Werft (HDW) submarine deal this afternoon.

London-based businessman, Mr Gopichand Hinduja, Mr S.S. Sidhu and Mr S.K. Bhatnagar, then Additional Secretaries in the Ministry of Defence, Captain M. Kondath, then Director, Submarine Arm and OSD/SSK [Officer on Special Duty/Submarine To Submarine Killer] in the Naval Headquarters, Mr B.S. Ramaswamy, then Additional Financial Advisor, Ministry of Defence, and Vice Admiral M.R. Schunker, then Vice Chief of Naval Staff, are named accused in the FIR [First Information Report].

Running into 59 pages, the FIR also mentions the Jajodia-owned Delhi-based firm "Roger Enterprises," which "played a dubious role" in the Rs 465-crore deal. The other unnamed persons referred to are "concerned directors and employees, including agents/representatives, of M/s. HDW, M/s. AEG-T and M/s. Ferrostal of West Germany."

These companies are reported to have paid over Rs 30 crores to agents/middlemen and public servants of the Government of India as commission or bribes to secure the contracts for submarines in their favour, an official CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] release said.

Revealing 'linkage': "Information is also available that some of the public servants and middlemen involved in the present case are also involved in the Bofors case under investigation by the CBI. Bank accounts channel for payment of commissions and bribes are apparently common to Bofors and HDW," the CBI alleged in a revealing "linkage."

According to the release, the commissions paid were about 10 to 15 percent of the cost of the deal. "Further, as mentioned in the media reports or otherwise gathered, the commissions/bribes have been transacted through Swiss banks, like Bank of Credit Suisse at Geneva and other banks in Switzerland."

The FIR alleges that in the contracts signed on 11 December 1981, by the Government with HDW and AEG-T for the purchase of two submarines and material packages for another two submarines to be constructed in India at a cost of Rs 465 crores at February 1979 price level as against the price of Rs 374.99 crores quoted by the HDW when their offer was accepted in June, 1980.

Manipulations: It says that a "number of manipulations and irregularities" took place at crucial phases of the negotiations for the submarines due to the "acts of commission or omission by certain public servants of the Government of India in order to guide the contract in favour of HDW. The advantages in the offer of Kockums of Sweden were either ignored or sidetracked."

The FIR says that of the eight offers received, Kockums 45-B of Sweden and HDW 1000 of West Germany were short-listed for negotiations. commenting on the advanced nature of the Swedish submarine, which has a "futuristic design," Kockums were assessed the best in maintenance, documentation and logistic support.

"In fact, Kockums was found to be the best in operating characteristics, radiated and self-noise, weapons and sensor-fit and equipment as well as cheapest in overall cost; yet it is alleged that manipulations were done to favour HDW by suppressing material facts."

Allegation against Sidhu: On Mr Sidhu, now with the International Civil Aviation Organisation in Montreal, who became Convenor of the Negotiating Committee for the submarine in May, 1980, the release said he was allegedly "responsible for incorrectly indicating that the purchase of HDW submarines was financially a better deal in comparison to Kockums."

It alleged that Mr Sidhu had "suppressed and/or misrepresented material facts with the object of securing the contract for HDW." In spite of the fact that negotiations with both parties were at a preliminary stage, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was yet to be finalised and firm assurance on supply of torpedoes from FRG uncertain, Mr Sidhu had "shown undue haste in recommending to the Cabinet Committee of Political Affairs (CCPA) the final selection of the HDW offer."

"Shri Sidhu deliberately included in the cost of the submarines, the price of base and depot spares, which was purposely quoted low by HDW and thereby its offer was projected as marginally cheaper than the offer of Kockums. He omitted to mention that the R&D spares were budgetary items, were wrongly included along with cost escalation to escalate the Kockum offer."

Owing to the misrepresentation "made" by Mr Sidhu with regard to an early MOU with West Germany, the required MOU could never be entered into, and an administrative agreement was reached only after 18 months of negotiations, escalating the price of the submarines.

'Probable middleman:' About Mr Hinduja, who is described as one of the "probable agents/middlemen is reasonably suspected." "Circumstances also indicate that Roger Enterprises, besides the Hindujas, also played a dubious role in the (Submarine to Submarine Killer) SSK submarine deal with HDW and AEG-T by allegedly participating in the conspiracy to influence public servants and others in the payment of commission/bribes."

The FIR alleged that Captain Kondnath "deliberately did not point out that the cost of base & depot spares offered by M/s HDW was too low to meet the requirement of four submarines as per Indian Navy philosophy." "In fact soon after the acceptance of HDW's offer, Captain M. Kondnath projected the cost of B & D spares as Rs 36 crores as against Rs 5.44 crores initially offered by HDW."

'False grounds:' Apparently, he gave false and frivolous grounds for his premature retirement when negotiations for the contract had reached a crucial stage. Soon after retirement, he applied for permission to join HDW, which was rejected. Despite this, he apparently did "liaison work" for HDW/AEG-T.

About Mr B.S. Ramaswamy, the FIR says that to show favours to HDW, he "incorrectly added the escalation of Rs 25 crores in respect of the item 'know-how' in the contract price in regard to Kockums in his calculations, knowing fully well that it was fixed price and not subject to escalation."

According to the FIR, Vice-Admiral M.R. Schunker on 16 October 1980, stated that the "technical specifications indicated by M/s HDW were not acceptable by the Navy but on 5 November 1980, he suddenly agreed to accept the increased figures of technical specifications, with their accompanying disadvantages, without assigning any reasons."

About Mr S.K. Bhatnagar, another accused, whose name also figures in the Bofors case, the FIR said he "deliberately ignored the demand of the members of the Negotiating Committee to seek fresh approval of the CCPA [Cabinet Committee on Public Accounts] for reopening dialogue with Kockums..."

"Mr Bhatnagar was involved in the negotiations with HDW and accepted the firm's demand for ex-gratia payment of Rs 5.8 crores (14.5 million DM) to cover the increased cost asked by the sub-contractors as escalation, without cross-checking or verifying the claims projected for the price rise even when the Finance Ministry had advised against the acceptance of this claim."

'Abused official position:' "He also abused his official position for getting cleared by the CCPA in its meeting held on 30 November 1981, the cost projection of Captain M. Kondnath for payment of Rs 36 crores as the cost of B & D spares to HDW, which had initially quoted Rs 5.44 crores for the same," the FIR alleged.

It charged that Mr Bhatnagar suppressed vital facts, both financial and technical, in the statement of the case put up to the Prime Minister, the Minister of State for Defence and Finance Minister. This was done to favour HDW, the FIR alleged.

In support of the allegations made, the FIR contains quotes from various documents, Government files, report of the Comptroller & Auditor General, report of the Public Accounts Committee, media reports and other publications.

The CBI release added that the Bureau would now commence investigation and collect documentary evidence in India, West Germany, Switzerland and other places. They would also seek help of the Interpol.

Clean-Up Efforts Welcomed

46001438 Madras THE HINDU
in English 7 Mar 90 p 8

[Editorial; "Fir on the HDW Deal"]

[Text] The fling of the FIR [First Information Report] on the "commission" payments in the HDW [Howaldstwerke Deutsche Werft] submarine deal marks the logical culmination of one stage in Mr V.P. Singh's effort to eliminate corruption in the upper reaches of government and restore the integrity of the decision making process. This campaign he had started during his term as Finance Minister in the Rajiv Gandhi administration and had continued even when he had been shifted to Defence. Indeed, it was the information on the HDW deal that had prompted him to order an enquiry into the operation of agents in defence deals and had triggered his exit from the Government. In a formal sense, the deal signed in December, 1981, related to the pre- Rajiv Gandhi period, and the specific political responsibility for it at this stage remains uncertain. Yet it should be noted that it was the Government of Mr Rajiv Gandhi that had started negotiations on the purchase of two more of the submarines and it was then that the payment of huge commissions on the four already ordered came to light. Mr V.P. Singh's swift move in ordering an enquiry preempted the Government in 1987 from going in for another round of purchases with the built in "commissions." No orders were actually placed then, but even in the matter of the 1981 deal, the Congress(I) Government had resorted to a clumsy cover up, strengthening the suspicion of a political hand behind the earlier "commission" payments. The FIR, however, has not named or even indirectly targeted any political personality. In any case, since it does not relate to an actual deal of the preceding administration, the question of political vendetta certainly does not arise. The move is to be seen as

a welcome and straightforward effort to clean up the decision making process within the Government. Besides bringing the involved officials and middlemen to book, the clear message now is that the administration would be vigilant against venality of any kind whether in defence purchases or with respect to other large deals.

Quite apart from the evidence of wrong-doing outlined in the FIR, which will of course have to be examined by the court, the sequence of events immediately before and soon after the HDW controversy surfaced would seem to make the 1981 deal gravely suspect. It was when the Rajiv Gandhi administration was negotiating for the purchase of the fifth and sixth submarines that a West German defence ministry official conveyed to the Indian ambassador in Bonn HDW's inability to reduce the price as it had an open ended agreement to pay a commission of 7 percent to Indian agents. Mr V.P. Singh ordered his enquiry on the basis of this revelation, through it was subsequently denied by the West German Government. The Controller and Auditor General [CAG] through his independent enquiry came to the conclusion that a technically inferior submarine had been bought at a higher price, but the Public Accounts Committee, which examined the CAG's report, predictably did a whitewash of a job. All the while, the Government was protesting that no new deal had been struck and no new submarines had been ordered. There was an international twist to the controversy when it came to light that HDW had sold the drawings of the same submarine to South Africa. Yet, though the sale of drawings to South Africa violated the secrecy agreement between HDW and the Government of India and despite the obvious implications for defence, New Delhi seemed extremely reluctant to press the West German Government for a full and satisfactory enquiry. The FIR details how officials at various levels went out of their way to manipulate the data and stack the cards in HDW's favour after it had been shortlisted along with Kockums. The decision making process seems to have worked in reverse sequence, and once the decision was taken at the top to purchase the HDW submarines, officials from the bottom up worked to make the deal look good all over. The technical superiority of the Kockums vessel as assessed by the Navy was dismissed as just marginal. The price advantage that Kockums had was transformed by various accounting sleights of hand into an advantage in favour of HDW, and as usually happens in deals of this kind, collusive price escalation between the time the HDW's offer was accepted and the agreement was signed pushed the final cost way up. In the result, the original offer of Rs 374.99 crores which was accepted in June, 1980, was transformed into a final price of Rs 465 crores for the four submarines when the contract was signed in December 1981. Who the actual recipients of the Rs 30 crores commission were, and how much of it found its way to India to influence the selection, are now under investigation. Deals such as the HDW and the Bofors contracts bring out the fact that the "safeguards" that the administration has built up in the form of negotiating committees, committees of secretaries and even the political

affairs committee of the Cabinet to examine major deals had turned out to be empty formalities in a milieu of diktats and telephone orders from the top, with even whispers being acted upon without question. The Government of Mr V.P. Singh now has on its hands the task of rebuilding the administrative processes, restoring their effectiveness and credibility. If the decision making process is to be insulated from political chicanery and venality, transparency of governance and openness would be the greatest safeguard.

Paper Reports Content of, Reaction to Railroad Budget

Fernandes Presents Budget

46001425 Calcutta THE STATESMAN
in English 15 Mar 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 14 March—An all round increase in passenger fares has been proposed in the Railway Budget for 1990-91, presented in the Lok Sabha today by the Railway Minister, Mr George Fernandes. Freight charges have also been hiked, but essential items like grain, pulses, sugar and fruit, have been exempted.

The rise in tariff and freight rates would bring in an additional revenue of Rs 892 crores in the Budget which shows a surplus of Rs 186 crores after paying the full dividend of Rs 932 crores. The surplus is sufficient to meet the outlay on works of passenger and staff amenities and other operating improvements, according to Mr Fernandes.

Not unexpectedly the announcement of hikes led to an instant outcry from all sections of the House. Their anguish had been heightened by an earlier announcement of revision of telecommunication tariff by the Law Minister, Mr Dinesh Goswami.

The new passenger fares, which will come into effect from 1 May, will include an increase of Rs 1 (at the lowest slab) to Rs 20 (for distances beyond 1,400 km) for second class Mail and Express trains. The second class ordinary fares have been increased: 50 paise at the lowest ebb to Rs 4 for distances beyond 300 km.

Platform tickets will now cost Rs 2 each. The second class monthly season ticket fare has been increased by Rs 4 to Rs 12, depending on the distance. The first class monthly season ticket increase has varied from Rs 16 to Rs 48. The sleeper surcharge in second class has gone up to Rs 15 from Rs 10 for distances up to 500 km; from Rs 15 to Rs 20 for distances between 501 km and 1,000 km, and from Rs 15 to Rs 25 for distances beyond 1,000 km.

As an incentive to attract more traffic freight rates hike will be 7 percent between April and September while in other months it will be 10 percent. Parcels and luggage rates will go up by 10 percent. The new freight tariffs will come in force from 1 April.

The Budget has made provisions for 12 new railway lines, increase in frequency of 4 trains and extension of runs of 7 trains. The manufacture of first class coaches is being curtailed to concentrate on building more second class coaches with cushioned seats. All new coaches in future will be either second class general and sleeper coaches or air-conditioned coaches—sleeper or chair cars.

The Railway Minister announced that an expert committee would be set up to examine fares and freight structure and go into all aspects of costing and pricing of rail services after ascertaining views and problems of rail users.

The Plan outlay for 1990-91 has been fixed at Rs 5,000 crores, against Rs 4,450 crores for the current financial year. The emphasis will continue to be on rolling stock, electrification and rehabilitation of assets like track renewal. There will be a greater reliance on internal contribution of resources and market borrowings would touch Rs 1,170 crores. The budgetary support has been pegged at Rs 1,420 crores, which is 28 percent of the outlay and the lowest so far.

The Minister said technology upgradation will be taken up through use of heavier rails of higher tensile strength, low welded rails and pre-stressed concrete sleepers to improve track structure and modern electronic devices to improve reliability of signalling and telecommunications.

There was a proposal to go in for higher horse power locomotives which are also fuel efficient, coaches of lighter weight with higher speed potential, freight stock with better payload to take weight ratio. High priority would also be given to conservation of fuel.

Outlining most estimates for 1990-91, the Minister said at the existing level of fares and freight rates, gross traffic receipts were estimated at Rs 11,168 crores, based on increase of 14 million tons of originating revenue freight traffic, 3 percent growth in passenger; 2 percent growth in other coaching and increase of sundry other earnings by 4 percent. That was Rs 436 crores higher than the revised estimates for the current year.

Ordinary working expenses for 1990-91 were estimated at Rs 8,241 crores, with an increase of Rs 794 crores over the current year. The addition was required for normal increases, payment of dearness allowance, higher level of activity and lease rental payable to the Indian Railway Finance Corporation.

Contribution to depreciation reserve fund has been stepped up from Rs 1,715 crores in 1989-90 to Rs 1,950 crores in view of higher replacement needs.

The dividend liability was placed at Rs 932 crores on the basis adopted for 1989-90. At current tariff, the shortfall would be Rs 706 crores. To maintain financial viability of the Railways, certain adjustments of fares and freights had become essential, Mr Fernandes said.

Turning to Eighth and Ninth Plan perspectives, the Minister said the Eighth Plan aimed at "incremental originating" revenue, earning freight traffic of 102.5 million tons and annual growth of 3 percent in passenger traffic. Investment in Railway sector as a percentage of the total Plan outlay from the level of 15.5 percent to 11.1 percent in the first three Plan periods, has gone down to 6.89 in the subsequent four Plans—up to the Seventh Plan.

The thrust of the Eighth Plan would be modernization and technological upgradation to achieve reduction in maintenance costs, improvement in efficiency and productivity, financial viability; greater safety, energy conservation, manpower planning and human resource development, reliability and quality of service and above all, customer satisfaction.

The Railways Act 1989 will come into force from 1 July this year. Rules under the Act are being framed. Compensation payable in case of death of a passenger in a train accident will be increased to Rs 2 lakhs after the Act becomes effective. Compensation for injured passengers will be also doubled.

The Minister claimed continuous improvement in safety record of the Railways and said that safety would always receive highest priority.

CPI-M, Other Parties React

46001425 Calcutta THE STATESMAN
in English 15 Mar 90 p 9

[Words in boldface as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 14 March—The Politburo of the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] today expressed its "unhappiness at the way the freight rates and passenger fares have been increased" in the Railway Budget.

The increase of 10 percent in freight rates, despite exemption for certain essential commodities, will fuel the price rise in an already difficult situation when inflationary conditions exist in the country, the Politburo said in a statement.

Mr Ram Dhan, national convener of the Jan Morcha, said today that the increase of 10 percent in freight charges and rise in second class passenger fares and sleeper charges, platform ticket will hit the poor and middle classes and cause all round price-increase and inflation.

He said the common man and bona fide passengers have been penalized at the cost of anti-socials and criminals who travel without tickets and commit theft and pilferage on the public property of the Railways.

Mr Chitta Basu, M.P., general secretary. All India Forward Block, protested against the increase in passengers fares and freight charges which would hit the common

people at large. He held that investment for development in West Bengal had been inadequate.

But the former Railway Minister, Mr Madhavrao Scindia, said he was glad the Budget indicated no "major deviation" from the direction and thrust given to the Railways in the Seventh Plan, adds UNI.

The stress on rehabilitation of assets, modernization, technological upgradation and improvement of productivity was in the right direction, he said.

Mr Anil Shastri (JD) said in view of the financial constraints, the Minister had no alternative but to increase passenger and freight rates. The hike in second class fares was marginal and unlikely to affect the common man, he felt.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party leader, Mr Nani Bhattacharya, said the Budget failed to reflect the new direction of the Government.

The Railway Budget "is typical of the socialist leader George Fernandes," according to the Congress(I) general secretary, Mr V.N. Gadgil. While it was "rail roko" for the common man, for middle class passengers it was "dynamite," he said.

The proposed increase in railway freight will cause an almost negligible increase in the prices of commodities, the Railway Board chairman, Mr M.N. Prasad, claimed today.

A Staff Reporter adds: Two PCC(I) [Pradesh Congress Committee (Indira)] general secretaries, Mr Pradip Bhattacharyya and Mr Apurbal Mazumdar, today condemned the Railway Budget for its "fresh burdens on common people." The Budget gave the first indication of the new Government's "breach of trust with the people." They also regretted that the Budget had earmarked only Rs 90 crores for the Metro Railway in Calcutta and another Rs 6 crores for doubling the Barasat-Bangaon line. It was a "raw deal" for West Bengal, they said and hoped that Mr Jyoti Basu would convey to the Centre the disappointment of the State's people with the Budget.

Pre-Budget Economic Survey Presented in Parliament

Summary of Contents

46001428 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 17 Mar 90 pp 1, 22

[Text] New Delhi, 16 March (PTI)—The pre-budget economic survey for 1989-90 presents a gloomy picture with a rapid fall in growth and prescribes a multi-pronged approach, including "zero-base expenditure budgeting," to restore the health of the economy.

The survey suggests substantial broadening of tax base, besides tight budgeting, to tide over the strain on public finances and the difficult balance of payments position.

Placed in Parliament today by the finance minister, Prof Madhu Dandavate, the survey calls for a serious scrutiny of the expanding bill for government subsidies and suggests rationalisation and simplification of the indirect taxes to ensure they promote equity and economic efficiency.

In line with the National Front government's commitment to employment generation and poverty alleviation, the survey says the critical tasks at this stage are to design an employment-oriented development strategy that combines growth with equity, a trade policy that aims at rapid export growth and a fiscal policy that increases savings and contains inflationary pressures.

A programme of zero-base budgeting will entail indepth assessment of all government expenditure, including serious scrutiny of the expanding bill for government subsidy.

A major effort is also required to improve physical and financial performance of public sector undertakings to tide over the problems of high fiscal deficits and falling ratios of public savings.

The survey says the prices remained under pressure despite normal monsoon and the position on the external front continues to be difficult despite buoyancy in exports and a slow down in the growth of imports.

The solution to inflationary pressure lay principally on the demand side with special attention to correct fiscal imbalances as the scope of manocuvrability to combat inflation is limited on the supply side due to reduced stocks of food and foreign exchange reserves.

It emphasises the need for substantial expansion of infrastructural facilities to bring about a labour-intensive pattern of industrial and agricultural development which is desirable for rapid expansion of productive employment and alleviate poverty as envisaged in the eighth plan.

The pressure on balance of payments (BoP) is expected to continue during the eighth plan and the viability of the BoP will be critically dependent on rapid and sustained growth in export volumes and values.

While the agricultural production may show a marginal increase, the increase in industrial production is also unlikely to exceed 6 percent.

As such the GDP [gross domestic product] growth may be around 4 to 4.5 percent which is much lower than the level of 10.4 percent recorded in the previous year. It is even lower than the average growth rate of around 5.9 percent achieved during the first four years of the seventh plan," it notes.

There has been stagnation in the savings rate and a deceleration in public savings. The underlying macro economic imbalances on fiscal and external account

have begun to exact some toll of overall economic performance and are putting pressure on prices and balance of payments.

The survey describes fiscal imbalances as a major source of current macro economic problems and says "the secular pressures on government expenditure" have sharpened in recent years.

The pattern of financing has been substantially different from what was anticipated in the medium-term perspectives outlined in the seventh plan and the long-term fiscal policy.

The last year's Union budget has sought to correct the growing imbalances between revenues and expenditures. "However, the actual outcome is likely to be worse than the budget estimates," it says adding the budget deficit was programmed at 7,337 crores amounting to 1.7 percent of the GDP.

But the increase in net RBI [Reserve Bank of India] credit to the Central government has been running well above this level for greater part of the year.

On the external sector, the survey says, the balance of payments situation has remained under considerable pressure during 1989-90. Figures available up to December 1989 indicate that the exports have recorded a 38.3 percent increase and the imports have a relatively slow growth of 20.7 percent in terms of rupees.

The strains on balance of payments has been particularly severe since 1988-89. The adverse factors contributing to this include declining self-sufficiency in production and consumption of crude oil and petroleum products, steady erosion and bunching of debt service payments of past borrowing, including IMF loan.

The foreign exchange reserves have depleted to Rs 5,531 crores, at the end of January 1990.

The BoP situation is sought to be improved through acceleration of export growth and efficient import substitution.

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Interest payments now account for a substantial part of the budget and the net interest burden in the Central budget has gone up from 3.6 percent of total expenditure in 1980-81 to 10.1 percent in 1989-90.

The growth in money supply during current financial year up to 26 January 1990 is 14.9 percent as against 14.5 percent in the corresponding period last year.

The share of consumption expenditure has fluctuated within the range of 21 to 23 percent and defence expenditure formed 70 percent of it.

The survey emphasises the need to "tailor" tax and trade policies in a manner which discourages import. Intensive industrialisation and fosters economically efficient import substitution.

The index of industrial production has recorded a growth rate of only 5.2 percent during April-November 1989 compared with 9.4 percent during the corresponding period of 1988.

It attributes the slowdown to the poor performance of the manufacturing sub-sector, which recorded a growth rate of only 3.6 percent during the first eight months of the current year compared with 10.2 percent during the corresponding period of last year.

On the agriculture front, while the production of foodgrains, cotton and sugarcane is likely to exceed last year's level, the output of oilseeds, jute, mesta and tea is likely to register some decline.

In terms of wholesale price index says the rate of inflation during 1988-89 was contained at 5.7 percent compared with 10.7 percent during the drought year of 1987-88.

During the current financial year the wholesale price index has registered an increase of 7 percent up to 17 February this year compared with 5.0 percent in the corresponding period of last year.

The annual rate of inflation works out to 7.7 percent compared with 5.3 percent last year, the survey says adding, however, in terms of consumer price index (CPI) the increase in prices works out to 5.5 percent during the current financial year up to January end this year. This was lower than the 7.8 percent recorded up to January last year.

The annual inflation rate in terms of CPI was also low at 5.4 percent against 8.5 percent last year.

The performance of key infrastructure sectors in the first quarters of the current financial year presented a mixed picture.

Survey Highlights

46001428 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 17 Mar 90 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 16 March (PTI)—Highlights of the 1989-90 economic survey:

- Slowdown in GDP [gross domestic product] growth around 4 to 4.5 percent in 1989-90 against 10.4 percent recorded in the previous year.
- Inflation rate higher—7.7 percent against 5.3 percent last year.
- Deceleration in industrial growth—5.2 percent during April-November 1989 compared to 9.4 percent in the corresponding period of 1988.
- Pressure on balance of payments continues—exchange reserves deplete to Rs 5,531 crore at the end of January 1990.
- Budget deficit to exceed projected Rs 7,337 crore during 1989-90.
- Net interest burden up during the decade from 3.6 percent of total expenditure in 1980-81 to 10.1 percent in 1989-90.
- Fiscal imbalances remain unabated—large expansion in net RBI credit to the Central government by 26.2 percent compared with 18 percent in the corresponding period of 1988-89.
- Growth in money supply—14.9 percent compared to 14.5 percent in the corresponding period last year.
- Defence expenditure accounts for nearly 70 percent of government consumption expenditure.
- Agricultural production records marginal increase while production of foodgrains, cotton and sugarcane likely to exceed last year's level, the output of oilseeds, jute, and tea expected to decline.
- Export surge continues recording 38.3 percent increase but imports register slower growth of 20.7 percent in rupee terms.
- Significantly trade deficit declines by 16.4 percent to Rs 5,518 crore.
- Petroleum sector performs well, crude petroleum production increases by 6.9 percent and petroleum products by 9.1 percent.
- Electricity performs significantly better during April-November 1989, registers a growth of 12.1 percent as compared to 7.5 percent in the corresponding period last year.
- Wholesale price index registers 7 percent increase up to 17 February 1990 compared with 5 percent in the corresponding period last year.
- Consumer price index registers a fall—5.5 percent during current financial year up to January 1990, which is lower than 7.8 percent in corresponding period in previous year.

Commentary Views BJP's 'Congressization' in Madhya Pradesh

90AS0030A New Delhi *DINMAN TIMES*
in Hindi 18-24 Mar 90 p 6

[Commentary by Anil Sharma: "BJP Has Also Started To Get Congressized"]

[Text] Power and the Congress Party have become synonyms in Indian politics. It was considered the first step toward "congressization" when they raised the slogan "Kailash Joshi, fight, We are with you" while electing the leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] at the Ravinder Bhawan in Bhopal.

The BJP had not even started to enjoy its unexpected victory in the state when it had to face the struggle for power between Sunderlal Patwa and Kailash Joshi. Expressing their resentment against "a leader forced upon us by New Delhi," thousands of BJP workers showed up at the meeting being held by the party's legislative group. The whole membership of the party high command was present there. Mr. Lalakarishan Advani, the party's national chairman; Rajmata Vijayaraje Sindhia, vice chairman; Kushbhau Thakre; and almost all the legislators were present there. Kailash Joshi played the role of the candidate who had lost by bringing up Sunderlal Patwa's name. His supporters, however, defied the BJP tradition and expressed anger at this decision by New Delhi.

The BJP rebellion too has its own style. While thousands of people were raising slogans in his support, Kailash Joshi told the DINMAN TIMES that he had no objection to Sunderlal Patwa's election as the leader. He said that raising slogans was a common practice and that he was overjoyed at the fortune of his party and had no reason to be upset.

It would have been acceptable if this affair was limited to slogan raising. It was clearly written in the invitation sent out for the oath-taking ceremony that the cabinet ministers were taking oath. The first oath-taking ceremony was being held in Lal Parade Maidan and it was very well attended. However, only Sunderlal Patwa took the oath at that ceremony!

The situation in Madhya Pradesh was unexpected for the BJP, which got more than 80 percent of the seats. According to Lalkarishan Advani, the party chairman, they expected to win 180 seats, but ended up with 220.

All of the leaders admit that this landslide victory in Madhya Pradesh is a challenge for the BJP. They believe that the rest of the nation will be evaluating the BJP on how it fairs in Madhya Pradesh. There are BJP governments in other states also, however, the state and central leaders of the BJP believe that since Madhya Pradesh is the largest state in the area, the BJP's success will depend largely on its performance there.

The Patwa-Joshi rivalry is not a novelty for the BJP. Both of them have worked for the Bharatiya Sawyam-sevak Sangh [BSS], but have different styles of operation. Kailash Joshi is considered clean by the people, however, they do not think that he is capable of running the government. It is also believed that while Kailash Joshi has limited his opposition to Patwa to slogan raising, the situation would be wholly "congressized" if Patwa opposes Joshi.

The BJP leaders are trying to cover-up the situation. According to Patwa, the new chief minister, "It would be considered strange in other parties when someone rejects the offer of a cabinet ministry. It happens in our party all the time. Had Mr. Kailash Joshi been appointed the chief minister, I would have played the role he is playing now."

Mr. Joshi played the same tune and said that, "I believe that the unexpected majority that our party has won has increased our responsibilities. It is true that some of our veteran members are staying outside the government and helping maintain cooperation between the government and the party. I had informed the top party leaders of my decision very early and they had agreed with my decision."

The BJP tried to give a new form to the old game of struggle for power and factionalism within a party and has called it the difference in its method of operation. It is possible that it will not last long and the power struggle that was so common within the Congress party will be repeated by the BJP.

The BJP has somehow elected its leader, however, the state legislatures have not elected leaders yet. Both the Congress and the BJP had called meetings of their legislative members, but both parties failed in electing their leaders because the "central leaders" could not come to Bhopal.

The struggle for power is going on behind this ritualistic explanation. Shyamcharan Shukal is still trying to prove that he has more legislators than Arjun Singh has even after his devastating defeat in the elections. This kind of arithmetic, however, has no affect on the struggle for power going on in the Congress party. Whatever the Delhites want will happen. The Delhites, however, have not yet decided who should be crowned with the opposition leadership.

Similarly, the BJP has not yet decided on nominating a leader. Raghu Thakre, the national secretary general, announced that they could not hold the election because not all legislators could attend even though 27 of the 28 legislators were in attendance. Vidyadhar Shukal, the regional president, had a clear conscience. He said, "Just like in other parties, our leader will also be elected unanimously."

The hint was clear: the leader would be appointed by Delhi. The Bhopal legislatures will just put a rubber stamp on this decision.

How could the BJP or the Janata Dal change the tradition established and practiced by the Congress Party for years?

IRAN

Second International Airport Operational in 1995

*90AS0011L London KEYHAN
in Persian 22 Mar 90 p 4*

[Text] The National Aviation Organization will build Tehran's second international airport near the Saveh-Tehran axis at a cost of 140 billion rials. Laying the foundation of the northern runway of this airport is presently under way. According to engineers responsible for this project the first paving operation of this runway will be completed by the following Ordibehesht [21 April-21 May 1991].

According to Gholamreza Shirazian, the Executive Director of the Seven Tir International Airport, approximately 15 thousand hectares of land in the vicinity have been purchased and several consulting companies have been contracted to provide architectural, design, facilities, HVAC [heating, ventilating, and air conditioning], green space, and other services.

An official in charge of implementing the engineering aspects of the construction of Tehran's second international airport announced that the first phase of the airport will be ready for service in the year 74 [21 March 1995-20 March 1996] (five years from now). While explaining some technical details of the airport, the same official said: "There will be two 45-meter wide north-south runways, each stretching 4,200 meters long. There will be two terminals, for domestic and international flights, each with an area of 130,000 square meters and complete with support, cargo, and hangers with an area of 600,000 square meters to facilitate the transportation of eight million passengers annually. It has been decided that flights of more than one hour shall use this airport and others shall use Mehrabad airport."

Direct Flights Connect Tehran, Kuala Lumpur

*90AS0011K London KEYHAN
in Persian 22 Mar 90 p 4*

[Text] With direct flights between Tehran and Kuala Lumpur, the National Iranian Airline (HOMA) will link Iran and Malaysia by air. The first direct flight of Iran Air to the Malaysian capital took place the day before yesterday (Tuesday, 22 Esfand [13 March]). According to the statement issued by the National Iranian Airline Corporation, this company's 747 Jumbo Jetliners will fly twice weekly to Kuala Lumpur.

Engineer Shafti, Chief Executive Officer of the National Iranian Airline Corporation, recently announced that this company is presently studying plans to expand flights to Syria and establish new routes between major provincial capitals and the results of these studies will soon be announced.

The said official told reporters that, if possible, Iran Air will have direct flights to Muscat in the future and flights to Eastern European countries is presently under study.

In a part of his press interview, the Chief Executive Officer of HOMA said: "From 1361 [21 March 1982-20 March 1983] until now not only the possibilities, facilities, and manpower of Iran Air have not expanded but also we have lost six of our planes. Therefore, since the demand exceeds the supply we are facing extensive difficulties."

The said official added: "In the national Five-Year Plan adequate measures have been considered for purchasing planes and expanding air transportation, and the passenger displacement capacity by Iran Air planes will increase from five million passengers annually to 8.8 million passengers."

Iranian Koran Reciters in Yugoslavia

*46000103B Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL
in English 11 Apr 90 p 8*

[Text] Belgrade, 10 April (IRNA)—Three Iranian Qur'an reciters are currently in Yugoslavia to promote cultural cooperation by reciting the Qur'an in mosques here on the occasion of the holy month of Ramazan.

Belgrade mufti, Hamdija Jusufspahic at Saturday evening prayer welcomed Mohsen Badpa, Abdul Vahid Jafarzadeh and Abbas Mirdamadi to the mosque where they attended both the noon and evening ceremonies.

According to worshippers, a large congregation was present to hear the reciters.

In his words of welcome, Jusufspahic said that this went to show how the Qur'an and Islam could unite very different people from different parts of the world.

The three Iranians left the capital Sunday to attend similar ceremonies in Sarajevo, the heart of Yugoslav Islamic tradition, and afterwards in mosques throughout the country.

The visit was arranged by the Islamic Propagation Organization.

AL-MAJALLAH Reviews Domestic, Exile Press

History After Revolution

*90AA0077A London AL-MAJALLAH
in Arabic 27 Mar 90 pp 12-21*

[Article: "Iranian Press Inside and Outside Iran; From Moharram 'Ali Khan's Censorship to Hojjat ol-Eslam Censorship"]

[Excerpts] Nearly two months after he assumed Iran's leadership, Khomeyni issued an announcement containing one phrase: "From now on, I will not read AYANDEGAN, the morning paper." This phrase opened the way to a well-studied campaign against the independent Iranian newspapers and magazines. The campaign was launched by the followers of Khomeyni's line and was tantamount to the first shot fired at the

head of the Iranian free press in the wake of the revolution. After Khomeyni's announcement, the press and the journalists were subjected to confiscation, to searches of premises, to pursuit, to arrest, and even to execution.

Freedom of the press, which was one of the "revolution's" most significant slogans, disappeared to be replaced by the most ferocious kind of censorship to which the Iranian press has been subjected to since it was born nearly 170 years ago.

The history of Iran's printed press abounds with accomplishments. At the same time, some pages of this history are covered with the blood of journalists who refused to abandon their responsibility and who continued to cling to their pen as a weapon with which to guard free expression. [passage omitted]

For six months after the start of the revolution, i.e. during Mehdi Bazargan's administration, the press exploited the chaos existing in Iran to spread the free word. But the official censorship existing under the shah's administration resurfaced unofficially and more effectively than before. As soon as a published paper or magazine printed articles that did not gain the admiration of Khomeyni or of his followers, the "Imam's House" invited Hezbollah's masses to express their resentment of such a paper or magazine. As soon as an invitation was announced, Hadi Ghaffari, Hezbollah's leader, and his companions would proceed to storm the paper's premises and beat up the chief editor and his colleagues. This condition persisted for six months, after which Khomeyni ordered nationalization of the major press establishments and cancellation of the licenses of all the other publications and magazines. The Ministry of Guidance announced at the time that those wishing to publish newspapers had to get permits from the ministry. A committee consisting of Khomeyni's men was formed to examine the applications for publishing papers. It is worth noting that the imposition of press censorship after the start of the revolution led to a considerable drop in circulation. ETTELA'AT, which had a daily circulation of nearly one million copies under Bakhtiar's administration and at the outset of the revolution, lost nearly 900,000 of its readers. The same has happened with KEYHAN which had a circulation of more than one million copies daily, but whose current circulation does not exceed 100,000 copies. It is indubitable that the execution of a number of prominent journalists and writers, such as 'Amidi-Nuri, 'Ali Asghar Amirani, and Dr. Farzami, the chief editor of JOURNAL DU TEHRAN, a French-language magazine published by ETTELA'AT Establishment, the arrest of more than 200 journalists and writers, and the elimination of prominent journalists from the press, led not only to the decline of the cultural, professional, political, and social level of the press, but also compelled an outstanding group of journalists to depart from Iran secretly and openly. Immediately upon their departure from Iran, these journalists contributed to developing the opposition and exiled press. Thanks to these journalists, more than 840 Persian-language, English-language, and

French-language papers are currently published on Iran. Moreover, a number of absconding journalists write for the world press or work in foreign radio stations and opposition stations transmitting from outside Iran.

In Iran, there are a number of major papers, along with nearly 960 newspapers, magazines, and leaflets published side by side with the major papers, including those that are published in the Iranian cities and those published by the government establishments and agencies. This is in addition to the publications that are aimed against the Arab and Islamic countries and that cost the Iranian treasury \$180 million last year.

It is worth noting that three years ago, Hoseyn Montazeri strongly criticized the publication of hundreds of newspapers and magazines which are not different in content and which cost the people exorbitant sums of money without offering them anything. Montazeri urged contentment with ETTELA'AT, KEYHAN, an English-language daily, and a number of political and literary weeklies, and called for abolishing the rest. But his recommendation was not implemented and the number of papers and magazines issued by the official establishments has increased. Even though the major papers suffer from such a newsprint shortage that ABRAR's publication was suspended for two weeks recently, the official establishments get imported newsprint from the Ministry of Guidance at very low prices, whereas an Iranian writer wishing to publish a book has to get newsprint from the black market at more than twenty-fold the government price.

According to a study conducted by Dr. Mohammadi, a professor at the Public Relations and Publications College, the magazines and newspapers published by the government establishments do not return a single rial to these establishments. The Revolutionary Guard Command, for example, allocates nearly 340 million tomans (\$50 million at the official price) to publish its magazine, PAYAM-E ENQELAB, and to distribute freely to the guards, few of whom are interested in the magazine. Most of the magazine copies end up being dumped in the trash. The same applies to SORUSH which is published by the Radio and Television Agency in Persian, Arabic, English, and French. However, AL-WAHDAH AL-ISLAMIYAH [Islamic Unity] and more than 50 Arabic, Turkish, Urdu, English, and French-language magazines are issued by organizations tied to the regime and aimed against the Arab and Islamic countries. These magazines undertake the task of exporting the "revolution" through propaganda and they cost the Iranian citizen heavily, considering the sums of money the government deducts from the citizens' sustenance to provide the dollars for publishing a magazine filled with revilement against numerous Islamic countries.

Prior to the revolution, the Journalists Union was one of the most important professional unions in Iran and most journalists belonged to this union. Moreover, the journalists and writers who opposed the shah and who did not recognize the Journalists Union established Kanun-e

Nevisandegan, or the Writers and Artists Association. Even though the Journalists Union and the Writers Association played a decisive role in the struggle against the shah, and even though the strike which the journalists staged at the end of the shah's administration in protest of the presence of the censorship was organized under the Journalists Union's leadership, Khomeyni's government ordered that the union and the association be dissolved after it had dissolved the Lawyers Union. A large number of the Union Council members and officials of the Writers and Artists Association were arrested.

Domestic Press

*90AA0077B London AL-MAJALLAH
in Arabic 27 Mar 90 pp 14-15*

[Article: "Iran's Major Papers"]

[Text] Six dailies are published in Iran at present:

ETTELA'AT: It is the oldest Iranian newspaper. It was founded by the late Senator 'Abbas Mas'udi in the 1920's and it promptly turned into one of the biggest Middle East press establishments. Upon Mas'udi's death, his eldest son, Farhad Mas'udi, assumed chairmanship of the establishment which was then publishing varied newspapers and magazines, including the English-language TEHRAN JOURNAL, the Arabic-language AL-IKHA' whose chief editor was Nadhir Fansah, a Syrian journalist, and the French-language JOURNAL DU TEHRAN.

After the revolution, Khomeyni ordered nationalization of the establishment and appointed Mohammad Doa'i, one of his close associates and his first ambassador to Iraq, as the establishment chairman. At present, ETTELA'AT represents the line of Khamene'i and the educated clergymen. The establishment also publishes the weekly ETTELA'AT AL-RIYADAH [Sports—possibly DONYA-YE VARZESH] magazine, and AL-SHABAB [Youth—possibly JAVANAN] magazine. The establishment stopped sometime ago publishing AL-NISA' [Women's—possibly ETTELA'AT-E BANOVAR] magazine whose chief editor was Zahra Rahnavard, the wife of ex-Prime Minister Hoseyn Musavi. This magazine's circulation had dropped from 300,000 copies in the week prior to the "revolution" to just 5,000 copies. ETTELA'AT Establishment publishes a children's magazine also.

It is worth noting that TEHRAN TIMES, which is published under the chief editorship of Basim 'Arfan Parviz, a Pakistani journalist who was an editor in the TEHRAN JOURNAL prior to the revolution, is unofficially published by the ETTELA'AT Establishment. Outwardly, it seems independent, whereas its management and its printing press are in ETTELA'AT Establishment and it is distributed by ETTELA'AT's distribution outfit. TEHRAN TIMES, which replaced the TEHRAN JOURNAL, represents Rafsanjani's wing and the position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is considered

the line of direct communication between the regime and foreign countries. The Iranian citizen is not interested in what it publishes because what TEHRAN TIMES publishes has no connection with the regime's real policy toward this citizen.

KEYHAN: It is under the control of Guidance Minister Mohammad Khatami and its chief editor is Mohammad Asghari, an ex-minister of justice. This paper reflects the position of Khamene'i and Ahmad Khomeyni. On cultural, artistic, and literary issues, KEYHAN is more open than ETTELA'AT. The KEYHAN Establishment, which publishes KEYHAN, was founded by Senator Dr. Mostafa Mesbah-Zadeh during World War II, and it later became a strong rival of ETTELA'AT. KEYHAN Establishment also began to publish a number of newspapers and magazines, some of which were most popular, including the English-language KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL and IMRA'AT AL-YAWM [Today's Woman—probably ZAN-E RUZ] which had a circulation of 300,000 copies in 1978. Its circulation is estimated at nearly 50,000 copies now. Its publications also include AL-RIYADAH [Sports—probably KEYHAN-E VARZESHI] and AL-ATFAL [Children—probably KEYHAN-E BACHEHHA] magazines and a number of periodicals and annual publications and papers.

After the revolution, Khomeyni nationalized and confiscated KEYHAN Establishment. He later entrusted its chief editorship to Ebrahim Yazdi, the foreign minister in Bazargan's government, then to Hadi Najaf-Abadi, (the current Iranian ambassador to the UAE [United Arab Emirates]), and then to Hasan Shah Teshraghi who was assassinated afterward. Hojjat ol-Eslam Khatami, the minister of guidance, has now appointed Mohammad Asghari as KEYHAN's chief editor.

KEYHAN Establishment now publishes KAYHAN AL-'ARABI. Its chief editor is Mohammad Hoseyn Hashemi, the cousin of Mahmud Hashemi, the official spokesman of the so-called Islamic Revolution High Council—the leader of anti-Iraqi propaganda. There is another paper called KEYHAN-E HAVA'I. This paper is not circulated in Iran but is targeted for Iranian expatriates. Its style is different from that of the domestic papers and its articles are totally different from what is published in the domestic papers. This paper discusses the opposition, responds to what the opposition says, and publishes articles sent by its readers, which are not always supportive of the regime. Through KEYHAN-E HAVA'I, which distributes hundreds of its copies free of charge or dispatches them to Iranian subscribers throughout the world, the regime seeks to imply that there is free press in Iran. However, the Iranian journalist inside Iran does not dare emulate his colleague in KEYHAN-E HAVA'I.

It is worth noting that Dr. Mostafa Mesbah-Zadeh, the owner of KEYHAN Establishment, proceeded to publish his paper in London when the regime confiscated his establishment. The Tehran-issued KEYHAN is now found side by side with the London-issued KEYHAN

which presents the opposition's opinions and holds clear positions toward the regime. The opposing KEYHAN supports the return of the previous regime and a number of ex-reporters of the Tehran-issued KEYHAN contribute to the London-issued KEYHAN. Another daily published in Tehran is RESALAT whose chief editor is Morteza Nabavi, an ex-assistant minister of trade. RESALAT's owner and manager is Hojjat ol-Eslam Ahmad Azari-Qomi, an ex-public prosecutor, a current parliament member, and a member of the faculty of the College of Tenured Ulema.

RESALAT: It was founded by Azari-Qomi at the outset of 1985. By virtue of his being one of Khomeyni's disciples and close associates, the Ministry of Guidance granted him a license to publish a daily newspaper. Even though what RESALAT carries is not different from what is published in the other papers, RESALAT's editorials, its line which is hostile to that of Imam Khomeyni, and its sports pages have turned it into the regime's most popular paper, especially among the regime opponents who, by reading between the lines of RESALAT's articles, have discovered the disagreement level and the points of disagreement among the regime leaders.

Toward the end of Khomeyni's administration, RESALAT defended the conventional right, the bazaar, and the Hojjatiyeh Association whose activity is now banned. But the paper has now turned into a Rafsanjani supporter and it supports his steps toward what is rumored to be greater economic openness.

ABRAR, a morning paper: It is published in Tehran and it represents the line of the Khomeyni faction which took part in storming the U.S. embassy and detaining 52 U.S. diplomats as hostages. ABRAR has a story different from that of the other papers because it was not published under ordinary circumstances. When Khomeyni declared that he would not read the morning AYANEGAN, which was one of the most important and liberal Iranian newspapers, a number of pro-Khomeyni students stormed and occupied the newspaper premises and changed its name from AYANDEGAN to SOBH-E AZADEGAN, or the Freemen's Morning. The students then appointed their own chief editors of the paper, beat up the original reporters and editors, and jailed some of them, such as Firuz Kuran and Na'ini. After taking control of the embassy, the students turned SOBH-E AZADEGAN into a platform to declare their intentions and justify their detention of the diplomats. During this period, the Khomeyni line leaders, such as Hoseyn Sheikh-ol-Eslam, the current assistant minister of foreign affairs, Hoseyn Mala'ek, the Iranian ambassador to Switzerland, and Hojjat ol-Eslam Kho'in, the ex-public prosecutor, supervised SOBH-E AZADEGAN. Two years after this paper was first issued and when the press law was passed, the Ministry of Guidance instructed that this newspaper, which had not been licensed, be shut down. But then the paper reappeared a short while later under the name of ABRAR with a license issued by the Ministry of Guidance in the name of 'Aqr Karshasbi, a

member of the Khomeyni line and a former member of the Fedayi-ye Eslam Organization. ABRAR is published daily now and it holds radical views, especially in connection with Iran's foreign relations.

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI, a morning paper: It was issued by the Islamic Republican Party after it was founded in February 1979. Even though the party was dissolved on Khomeyni's recommendation in 1987 because of the eruption of disputes between its various wings, the paper has continued to be published. It is the most radical and least popular Iranian paper. 'Ali Khamene'i, the current regime's spiritual leader, is the paper manager and the holder of its official license. Masih Mohajeri, a Khomeyni disciple, is the paper's chief editor. It is worth noting that Mir Hoseyn Musavi, an ex-Iranian prime minister, began his political life in the JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI paper in 1979 when Khamene'i appointed him its chief editor. Musavi signed his articles with the alias Abu-Zaynab. He later left the paper to become prime minister and adviser to the president of the republic.

What is interesting regarding the domestic press is that, though subject to strict censorship, this press is the most important source of information for the expatriate Iranian press. It can be said that the Iranians are perhaps one of the region's peoples who are most interested in newspapers and magazines. During the 11 years of the current regime's life, nearly 2,700 magazines, publications, and newspapers have been published inside and outside Iran. Some are still being issued and hundreds have stopped, either on Khomeyni's instructions or under the pressures of the exile circumstances and the bankruptcy of their publishers. For one and a half centuries, the Iranian journalist has continued to seek freedom, beginning with HABL AL-MATIN in the past century and ending with NIMRUZ at present.

Expatriate Journalists

90AA0077C London *AL-MAJALLAH*
in Arabic 27 Mar 90 pp 16-17

[Article: "Journalists Absconding Beyond Borders"]

[Text] It is evident that the condition existing in Iran has motivated numerous journalists to either flee Iran or leave it openly. These include well-known figures who used to be establishment owners and chief editors. Following is a list of some of these journalists and of their previous positions:

- 1) Dr. Mostafa Mesbah-Zadeh: The founder of KEYHAN, an ex-senator, and the managing director of the London-issued opposition KEYHAN.
- 2) Farhad Mas'udi, the son of Senator 'Abbas Mas'udi—the founder of ETTELA'AT Establishment—and ETTELA'AT managing director since his father died. He lives in London at present.
- 3) Daryush Homayun: The founder of AYANDEGAN and an ex-minister of information. He lives in the

United States at present and plans to republish AYANDEGAN as of next month.

4) Amir Taheri: He was KEYHAN's chief editor in Iran and a prominent journalist in the 1970's. He left Iran on the eve of the revolution and he now contributes to international papers.

5) Ahmad Shokrniya, an editor of RASTAKHIZ and the founder of POST IRAN, the first opposition paper published abroad. He currently lives in Britain and heads the Mideast News Establishment, which publishes ERTEBAT in Persian and Arabic.

6) Hadi Khorsandi, a most prominent journalist whose derisive column in ETTELA'AT had a special place in the hearts of Iranians. He now lives in Britain and issues ASGHAR AQA which derides the regime.

7) Mohammad Burdad: An ex-director of the Iranian radio and television and a prominent contributor to ETTELA'AT. He now lives in Britain and heads the Pars Translation and Publishing Establishment.

8) Hamid Oji: The economic affairs editor in AYANDEGAN and RASTAKHIZ and an Iranian television producer. He now lives in Washington and works as political affairs editor for the Persian programs of the Voice of America.

9) Dr. 'Ali Nuri-Zadeh, the writer and poet who headed the political section of ETTELA'AT prior to and after the revolution. He also became chief editor of OMID-E IRAN which Khomeyni ordered closed six months after he assumed power. Since leaving Iran in 1981, Nuri-Zadeh has held the post of chief editor of POST IRAN and participated in founding the opposition's KEYHAN. He contributes to Arabic-language papers and magazines, in addition to his responsibility in NIMRUZ and his articles in RUZ-E KAR-E NOW magazine.

10) Parviz Esfehani: A prominent Iranian journalist who held the post of chief editor of 'ALAM AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT [Middle East Banner] in Iran and then joined RASTAKHIZ and became one of its editors after the revolution. The regime arrested him and he spent two years in Khomeyni's jails. He issued AL-JADWAL WA AL-'ULUM [Index and Sciences] prior to coming to Britain in 1987. He also founded the independent NIMRUZ which became the most widely circulated Iranian paper in a short period.

11) Javad Khakbaz: A prominent Iranian journalist who has been living in the United States for several years and who publishes IRAN TIMES in both Persian and English. By virtue of his neutrality and of his not belonging to either the opposition organizations or the regime, his paper is trusted by Iranians from the various intellectual tendencies.

12) Sattar Leqa'i is the chief editor of AL-SHUBBAN [The Youth] magazine and a well-known journalist. He left Iran after serving a prison term during which he was

subjected to torture. He now lives in Britain and manages Baka Printing Press which he founded nine years ago. Leqa'i published the opposition PAYAM for five years, but he has decided to abandon the paper and has devoted greater attention to his work as a novelist.

13) Naser Matraqi was a member of ETTELA'AT editorial staff and a correspondent of AL-IKHA' prior to Khomeyni. He left Iran after the revolution and lives in London now. He recently became the manager of the IRAN DIGEST magazine. It is worth noting that Matraqi was a POST IRAN editor and that he headed PAYAM for a time.

14) Jahangir Behruz is another prominent journalist who started his work in the 1940's and who later became one of the pioneers of Iran's modern press. For nearly 20 years, he published the English-language ECHO OF IRAN. After facing some difficulties in publishing his magazine in Iran, he decided to move his work to London two years ago.

15) Morteza Ra'isi, was the director of the Iranian radio and television office in West Germany. After Khomeyni, he decided to publish AKHBAR-E IRAN [the news of Iran] magazine. When this magazine came to a halt, Ra'isi continued to write for German and Persian papers published abroad.

16) Isma'il Purvali is one of the oldest and best-known Iranian journalists. He began his work in IRAN-E MA after World War II. He then founded BAMSHAD which was one of the most widely circulated Iranian magazines. After the magazine was shut down by Savak, Purvali went to France where he headed the Iranian radio and television office there for a long time. When Khomeyni assumed power, he published his magazine, BAMSHAD, in Iran. But he was forced to leave Tehran because of the conditions under which the press lived. He lives in Paris and is the chief editor of RUZ-E KAR-E NOW magazine which was founded by Jafar Ra'ed, the well-known Iranian writer and diplomat. It is worth noting that Ra'ed is the director of the Arab-Iranian Studies Center. The center issues a monthly called the IRAN DIGEST. Naser Matraqi and 'Ali Nuri-Zadeh collaborate with Ra'ed at the center.

17) Safa Ha'eri is one of the most famous veteran Iranian journalists. He worked as a reporter in ETTELA'AT and then became the Iranian radio and television correspondent in Beirut. He founded an information center in Lebanon which supplied most of the Iranian papers with information. In the 1970's, Ha'eri went to Southeast Asia where he became director of the Iranian radio and television office there. After the revolution, he contributed to founding the morning BAMDAD in Tehran. The regime could not tolerate this paper and ordered its closure shortly afterward. Ha'eri immigrated to Europe in the early 1980's and he lives in Paris now and writes in L' EXPRESS magazine. He has also

collaborated with the INDEPENDENT and the SUNDAY TIMES, in addition to contributing to the publication of NIMRUZ.

18) Iraj Pezeshkzad, a well-known Iranian diplomat and journalist who was attracted to journalism before the revolution. But his books—one of which is "Uncle Napoleon," the book with the highest sales in the history of modern Iran—have put him foremost among the writers who have raised their voices against the regime. Upon leaving Iran, he worked as the official in charge of the radio of Bakhtiar's antiregime underground movement. He then founded QIAM-E IRAN, the organ of Bakhtiar's movement, and he continues to be its chief editor. It is worth noting that a number of well-known Iranian writers and journalists, including Hoseyn Mehri, the ex-chief editor of AYANDEGAN, and Hushang Vaziri, who held the post of AYANDEGAN's chief editor for a time, collaborate with Pezeshkzad.

19) 'Abbas Pahlavan, a most prominent Iranian journalist who held the post of chief editor of FERDOWSI. In the 1960's and early 1970's, this magazine became a free podium for Iranian intellectuals, writers, and poets who opposed the government. Even though Pahlavan believed in the former regime, he did not impose any censorship on contributors to his magazine. Because of his open anti-Khomeyni positions, he was arrested, jailed, and tortured after the revolution until Bani Sadr ordered his release. Pahlavan lives in Paris at present and holds the position of chief editor of the opposition underground Darafsh Kavian Radio which transmits its programs from an unidentified location in the Middle East.

20) 'Ali Reza Maybadi, a prominent writer, journalist, and poet who worked as political and intellectual editor of FERDOWSI and NEKIN magazines before the revolution. He was also the producer and moderator of a well-known television program which was concerned with philosophical issues. After the revolution, he published his distinguished magazine [as published] for a short time and then left Iran and joined Bakhtiar. His voice could then be heard anew in Iran through Bakhtiar's underground radio. Maybadi lives in the United States at present and manages an independent Persian television station in Los Angeles.

21) 'Ali Lemonadi, a former television producer and writer of television movies who founded upon his departure from Iran the first Iranian television abroad, namely Television-e Iranian or IRTV, which transmits its programs on channel 18 in California and other channels in Washington and Texas.

22) Mansur Anvari, a prominent journalist and politician in the Iranian national movement. He holds the post of chief editor of PAYAM-E IRAN or the Iranian Message, which is the oldest opposition paper in the United States.

In addition to these journalists, there are tens of prominent journalistic figures, including Turaj Farazmand,

the ex-director of the radio and television; Iraj Kurkin, the director of the second program in the radio and television; Mehdi Qasemi, the chief radio commentator; Hushang Tashalenghi; Parviz Qazi-Sa'id, ETTELA'AT's social affairs editor; 'Ali Reza Taheri, ETTELA'AT's social and cultural affairs editor and the director of the radio and television office in Nairobi before the revolution; Eslam Kazemiyeh, Dr. Shahin Fatemi (nephew of Dr. Fatemi, Mosadeq's foreign minister), Ahmad Anvari, a prominent nationalist journalist and manager of the organ of the opposition Iranian Nationalist Front which spoke for the republicans supporting Mosadeq and which stopped publishing two years ago. Earlier, Anvari was the manager of PARKHASH [The Cry] during Mosadeq's time and on the eve of the revolution. Anvari continues his journalistic work in various forms and through the underground radios and opposition press. These journalists are among the most important sources of information on what is happening inside Iran. Radios beamed to Iran, such as the BBC and the Voice of America, interview them from time to time and broadcast their voice to Iran.

The Iranian opposition papers, estimated at nearly 840 papers in the five continents (in addition to nearly 140 papers and publications issued by the opposition organizations, especially the leftist organizations), are tantamount to a mirror that reflects the Iranians' political and intellectual tendencies. All these papers share one point, namely the need to establish a democratic regime in Iran.

PAKISTAN

Oil Price Hike Discussed

IMF Pressure Cited

46000099 Lahore THE NATION
in English 28 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[Article by Abdul Jabbar Khan]

[Text] Karachi—Government decision to increase prices of petroleum products has no correlation with the international price trend, but it is the result of IMF pressure, which has conditionalized that the next instalment of funds would be released when the public utility prices, including those of petroleum products are raised, competent sources said.

Informed circles in the international oil market confided to THE NATION that the import of crude oil has been around \$16.75 to \$18 per barrel and as such it is not true that price adjustment was due to price difference in local and international market.

They further disclosed that the oil prices in international market are falling. Pakistan, for example, purchased crude oil at \$17.50 per barrel in January this year. However, in the last month, the import price stood at \$17 and in March and April the prices are going to be \$16.75 to 16.50 per barrel.

During the past three years, crude oil has been imported mainly from Iran and Saudi Arabia, while Pakistan itself has started producing around 45,000 to 50,000 barrels oil daily from domestic resources. Its production much propagated by the government has not provided any benefit to the people and instead has increased non-development expenditure and lavish spendings.

Informed sources dealing in international oil market said: "There is no justification whatsoever for the increase". The prices on other production fields will shoot up, especially consumer items, like electricity and public transport. Although the government has claimed the fares would not increase, all such claims proved wrong in the past.

The economists believe policies made by the IMF and the World Bank for Pakistan will result in more foreign loans for the Federal Government. They said during the past five years there has been no significant increase in international oil prices and the OPEC itself faces policy differences among its members on prices and production quota.

They said since the Iran-Iraq war came to an end the supply of oil in the international market witnessed an increase resulting in downturn in the prices of crude oil.

On a question on the new price adjustment, they said when the government claims the domestic production of crude oil has been around 50,000—around 25 to 30 percent of the daily consumption, the consumers have not derived any benefit. They demanded the oil prices should be revised to the previous level.

In the year 1985-86 the import price of crude oil has been around \$18 per barrel and the prices remained within this bracket with a tolerance margin of five percent only.

Informed source said that the claim of the Government of Pakistan that the prices of crude oil have been at \$14 per barrel, which increased to \$17 to 18, has no justification, as during the past three years Pakistan has not marked any significant change in imported oil and its prices remained around \$15 to 18.

Meanwhile, the trade, business, social and political fronts have generally criticized the decision and urged the government to withdraw the increase.

Benazir Defends Increase

46000099 Lahore THE NATION
in English 28 Mar 90 pp 1, 5

[Text] Karachi—Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said on Tuesday here that it was a difficult decision for the Federal Government to increase oil prices but it had to be taken to enable the country to compete in the international market.

She was launching a new ship You Yi-20 made by Karachi Shipyard and Engineering Works Limited for the friendly country China at West Wharf on Tuesday.

The Federal Communication Minister Makdhoom Amin Fahim, the acting Sindh Governor Justice Syed Sajjad Ali Shah, Chief Minister Aftab Shabaan Mirani, the Chinese Ambassador, diplomats, MNA [Member of National Assembly]s and large number of senior government officials were also present.

The Prime Minister said that Pakistan cannot be set aloof from the day to day modern development of the world and it was inevitable for the government to take certain decisions in large national interest.

She said that the present government was making all out efforts to make Pakistan self-sufficient in all fields to achieve the maximum targets of development and prosperity.

Ms Benazir Bhutto said that the directives had been issued to all departments and the ministries to exploit all their resources and explore new avenues for the development and prosperity of the country. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto on Tuesday called for the setting up of a joint ship-building project in collaboration with Pakistan's friendly countries.

She asked when a 14-member countries could join hands in starting such a venture why not Pakistan.

She said that development of ship industry was imperative for achieving self-reliance in the field of trade and stabilizing Pakistan's economy. Quoting figures, she said, that Pakistan was spending about 600 million dollars per annum on Pakistan's cargo.

She said that a fleet of ships of the Pakistan National Shipping Corporation was handling only ten percent of the Pakistan's cargo.

She said that while the Pakistan National Shipping Corporation had a fleet of 51 vessels in 1972, there had been substantial decrease in the fleet of the corporation as the time passed by.

She said her government was determined to arrest the deterioration in the ship industry and promote it on the modern scientific technological lines.

With this end in view, she said that funds had been provided to the Pakistan National Shipping Corporation to place orders for the purchase of ten ships from abroad.

She stressed the need of reorientating design capabilities and material production, as she added self-reliance was the catch-word in the modern competitive world.

She said in order to enhance defence capabilities Pakistan had to rely on modern technology. She said her government was deeply committed to promoting science and technology to achieve the desired results.

She said her government was laying emphasis on the development of transportation system in the country, for the benefit of among other sectors, the 'strategic' ship industry.

Outlining the measures taken by her government in this behalf she said four fish harbors will be constructed among other places each at Gwadar, Pasni and Ormara.

She said that work had already been started at Gwadar and Pasni and these would be completed within the next five years bringing an improvement in the economic conditions of the people of Balochistan in particular and the country at large.

She said that off-shore drilling operations in the Arabian Sea were also going on so as to make Pakistan self sufficient in oil.

Tracing the history of Pak-China relations, she said those had become more intimate with the passage of time. She said launching of this ship was yet another manifestation of the fast growing ties between Pakistan and China.

She was happy to mention that the ship had rightly been maned as 'You Yi-20' which in Chinese language meant friendship. She said this symbol of friendship between Pakistan and China would be further cemented as the ship sailed in the ocean.

She said that her government was grateful to China for having agreed to provide to Pakistan 300 megawatt nuclear power plant during the recent visit of the Chinese Prime Minister to Pakistan.

She said her government would fully utilize the proposed plant towards meeting the power deficiency.

She also announced one month bonus for the shipyard workers.

She said that her government did not concede to the reports that the shipyard concern may be closed down and the workers laid off in view of the losses the organization was incurring.

She said it was because of the fact that her government was determined to salvage it and ensure the means of subsistence of 7000 workers.

While breaking the bottle of rose water she declare "I hereby launch and name the ship as 'you Yi-20.'"

The ship, however, did not move forward to the sea due to some technical fault.

According to a spokesman of the shipyard, it was due to jamming of trigger. He said that the ship would be released to the sea after the rise of the sea tide.—APP.

Wide Criticism of Government Reported

46000099 Lahore THE NATION
in English 28 Mar 90 pp 1, 5

[Text] Lahore—Increase in the prices of petroleum products and fertilizers has been strongly resented by a cross section of the society and various political, social and professional organizations have forced the Federal Government to withdraw what has been generally described as a 'mini budget.'

Punjab PML [Pakistan Muslim League] General Secretary Ghulam Haider Wyne alleged that this decision has been taken by the Federal Government to cover up the economic losses caused by the manipulation of huge funds by Federal Ministers and Advisers.

He further said that owing to the wrong policies of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government, the country was heading for bankruptcy. Calling upon the Federal Government to immediately withdraw its decision, Ch Wyne said he did not see any reason why the common man be punished for the misdeeds of the rulers.

Secretary-General of Jama'at-i-Islami Pakistan Ch. Aslam Saleemi said that it was totally unfair on the part of the Federal Government to take such decision without taking the Parliament into confidence. He said this decision had exposed the PPP government which claimed itself to be champion of the poor's rights.

The Jama'at leader said that the Federal Government should immediately withdraw this decision which had been taken by the Economic Coordination Committee and for which the approval of the Parliament had not been sought while it was in session. It was not only the negation of democratic norms but also an insult to the Parliament, he added.

In a press statement issued here on Tuesday, provincial leaders of the Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP) Kh. Izhar and Dr Saeed Gul voiced grave concern over what they called unwise decision of the Federal Government. They announced that a protest demonstration would be held in the provincial metropolis on Thursday (tomorrow) by the PDP workers.

Chief of Pakistan Awami Tehrik Prof. Tahirul Qadri while condemning the Federal Government for increasing the prices of fuel and fertilizers, said this unwise decision had added to the miseries of the poor and the salaried class who were already burdened by the mounting inflation.

Addressing a press conference here at a local hotel, President of All-Pakistan Federation of Trade Unions (APFTU) Bashir Ahmad Bakhtiar and his General Secretary Khurshid Ahmad warned that the working class would go on strike if the Federal Government did not withdraw the increase in fuel and fertilizer prices.

They ridiculed the Federal Government's claim that this decision would not affect the prices of other consumer

goods. According to them increase in the price of fertilizer would ultimately affect the cost of the agricultural outputs.

APFTU leaders said that there was always an accepted principle that the salaried class was compensated by the government in terms of monetary relief whenever the government increased the prices of essential commodities. But it was quite painful that this principle was not being applied in our country.

In another Press conference Secretary-General of Kisan Board Pakistan, Syed Imdad Ali alleged that the Federal Government and its advisers wanted to make Pakistan 'agriculture market' of IMF, World Bank and other financial institutions of the West.

He was of the view that instead of taking loans on the conditions of the donor agencies, the Federal Government should bargain on its own terms and conditions keeping in view the economic position of Pakistan.

Kisan Board President said that it was a great injustice to small farmers that over past one year rate of the fertilizer had been increased by 44 percent while the prices of agricultural outputs had been restricted to nine percent increase.

Meanwhile, in two separate statements, traders of Hall Road Electronic equipments and members of Punjab Agricultural House strongly reacted to the Federal Government's decision of increase in fuel and fertilizer prices and demanded its immediate withdrawal.

Agencies add:

- President Pakistan Muslim League Mohammad Khan Junejo has criticized the federal government's decision to raise the prices of petroleum products and fertilizers.

In a statement issued on Tuesday, he said the tendency to raise the prices of various commodities before the budget was most reprehensible. He urged the government to withdraw the decision.

He expressed the apprehension that at the time of the budget the prices will be enhanced again and more taxes would be levied. He said this was all the more deplorable that the prices of petroleum products and fertilizers have been raised at a time when the national Assembly is in session.

He said the abnormal rise in the prices of petroleum products and fertilizers would adversely affect the agriculture sector as both these products are very essential for agricultural growth.

Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, chief of JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan], in Karachi said the upward trend in prices had no justification. He said the people would not afford such increase in the prices of petroleum products.

Chief of NDP [National Democratic Party], Sherbaz Khan Mazari said the government should not have increased the prices of petroleum products.

Mr Mumtaz Bhutto, Professor Abdul Ghafoor Ahmed and other political leaders have also condemned the government decision and said the enhanced petroleum and fertilizers prices would have chain effects on the prices of consumers products. They demanded withdrawal of price rise.

The Information Secretary of Tehrik-e-Istiqlal Mr Omar Sailya said the increase in price of petroleum products have proved that the ruling party had no proper economic policies.

Lt-Gen (Retd) Fazle Haq MNA [Member of National Assembly] strongly criticizing the increase in prices of petroleum and fertilizer described the enhance as a mini-budget by the "so-called" peoples government.

In a statement issued in Peshawar Mr Fazle Haq said the latest increase in prices of fertilizer and petroleum was a severe blow to the poor sections of the society. Already facing economic hardships.

The former NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] Governor said it was so strange that the National Assembly was in the session but the "mini" budget was not presented in the House nor the elected representatives were consulted in this regard by those claiming themselves to be champions of democracy.

Senator Salim Saifullah, Chief Organizer, NWFP Muslim League, in a statement said the government did not bother to take the members of national Assembly and the Senate into confidence before making the decision. He expressed his surprise that the Federal Government had chosen the month of Ramazan for such increase which would add to the economic miseries of the common people.

He said on a number of occasions the prices of various essential commodities had decreased in the international market but the same was not implemented in Pakistan.

Private Sector: Increase To Affect Economy Adversely

*46000099 Karachi DAWN (Business Supplement)
in English 28 Mar 90 p 4*

[Text] Islamabad, March 27: President of the FPCCI [Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce & Industry], the premier private sector institution of the country, Raja Abdul Rehman on Tuesday said the price increases announced by the government two months before the budget would unleash a vicious circle of inflation and affected the economy adversely.

Commenting on the petrol and fertilizer price hike, Raja Rehman said it would have been better if these increases

were incorporated in the next budget as the budget itself would bring further increases which will make matters worse.

"It has been a rehearsal of the budget and some way could have been found to increase the revenues instead of unleashing a vicious circle," he told DAWN.

The FPCCI said the subsequent increases in transport fares would further aggravate the situation.

Private Sector Problems Discussed

46000101B Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER
in English 26 Mar 90 p 2

[Text] It appears that of all the pains and pricks vis-a-vis the Government's economic and other policies, the scare of nationalization continues to be uppermost on the nerves of business and entrepreneurial class in Pakistan. A demonstration to this effect reportedly figured pretty prominently at the gathering of prominent businessmen and industrialists, arranged by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry the other day, which was addressed by the Federal Minister of State for Finance Ihsanul Haq Piracha.

It may be pointed that the present-day problems of business and industry are many and varied but the critical issue which was referred to with a vehemence in the discussions with the minister in the gathering, was the haunting possibility of a repeat of nationalization by the present Peoples Party Government as a follow-up or revival of the policy enforced in 1972 by the first government of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. The elder industrialist Ahmed Dawood who has lived through the jarring vicissitudes in the process of industrialization over the past four decades, reportedly threw a pertinent suggestion in the meeting that the Government should adopt a legislation for declaring as unlawful steps that might be taken by the present and future governments to nationalize or government take-over of industrial and business establishments owned and run in the private sector. The idea appears to be reasonably convincing which understandably underlined removal of an inherent irritant for all time to come. This in turn would promise to endure and stabilize development efforts through active participation of the private sector. But the minister did not seem to agree and instead advised the businessmen and industrialists to take the assurance of the present Government as the word of honor that no nationalization would ever be resorted to. The assurance may be alright but a legislation will definitely be a far effective recourse to forestall attempts at nationalization by all future governments.

As regards the policy of privatization, which according to businessmen and industrialists, is very slow to unravel its paths, the minister reportedly came out with the information that Government shareholdings in PIA [Pakistan International Airlines], Muslim Commercial Bank and Pak-Saudi Fertilizer Factory would be offered for sale in May next. Judging from the previous official pronouncements, the proposed sale of shares by the Government in

some of the state-managed enterprises, is not going to be a disinvestment in totality and therefore, the management of these companies would remain intact under Government control. This policy can hardly be defined as privatization by the standards followed in countries pursuing this policy. It is only the disinvestment of controlling shares designed to transfer the management to private sector, that can be the real process of privatization. The proposed sales of shares would at the most improve the Government's liquidity position for meeting the budgetary obligations. Private shareholdings are already there in many a state-managed company. Further disinvestment below the level of 51 percent would obviously not transform meaningfully the status of state enterprises. Thus, the policy of privatization continues to be clouded in mystery.

Among other problems besetting private investment in the industrial sector, the minister reportedly conceded that the fiscal concessions allowed at Gadoon Amazai Industrial Estate have proved to be serious "distortions" with the result that prospects of investment specially in industries based on imported raw materials, in the rest of the country have blurred. Although Piracha disclosed that the Government was in the process of evolving some methodology to remove the adverse impact on the tempo of industrial investment in other areas, there appears to be no middle course except to withdraw the concession relating to duty-free and sales tax-free import of raw materials for Gadoon Amazai.

Piracha's visit to Karachi and his discussions with prominent businessmen and industrialists seemingly underlined his probe for the preparation of the next Federal budget. He is undoubtedly beset with the stupendous task of tapping new sources of revenues either by increasing existing taxes in addition to broadening the scope or by uncovering new tax avenues. An increase in the rates of direct taxation or alternatively to opt for withdrawing tax concessions and incentives, would exert a stifling impact on the investment outlook and thus a setback to development efforts would be a damaging eventuality. The impending plan for the levy of GST [General Services Tariff] has already created an atmosphere of apprehensions about the possibility of increase in the incidence of tax and consequent adverse impact on profits and savings potential in the corporate sector. Under these circumstances, the need for a savings and investment-oriented budget can hardly be overemphasized.

Article Urges 'Clean' Role for Private Sector Entrepreneurs

46000101C Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER
in English 27 Mar 90 p 2

[Article by Sultan Ahmed]

[Text] We are reproducing below the paper presented at the seminar on privatization held under the aegis of the Institute of Cost and Management Accountants at Karachi recently.

The privatization fever has been sweeping the world for a decade now. If it has been a wind in the West, it has been more like a whirlwind in Margaret Thatcher's Britain, where the process began with the sale of 51 percent of the British Aerospace in February 1981, for 48 million.

Over 50 countries, including many in the Third World from Turkey to Malaysia, have opted for privatization. Even Communist states like China and the Soviet Union, have not been exceptions. Hungary and Cuba, too, have tried to fall in line with some projects.

The Pakistan Government has been too slow or too cautious in this area, although Dr Mahbubul Haq as Finance Minister came out strongly in favor of denationalization and privatization as early as 1985, and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto later expressed herself in its favor, as she was impressed by the success of Mrs Thatcher's privatization endeavors.

A group of foreign consultants headed by N.M. Rothschild of Britain, the inclusive of the International Finance Corporation a subsidiary of the World Bank, had early last year suggested privatization of seven state enterprises including two gas companies, two banks, the national Refinery, PSO and PIA.

The Prime Minister had said in August last the process would begin in May this year. She said some enterprises would be privatized 100 percent, and some of the sensitive enterprises gradually. Later it was reported that the first enterprise would be privatized in February.

Our official spokesmen then came up with various statements. Minister of State for Finance Ehsanul Haq Piracha said that all the industries would be privatized. The Railways chief said the railways would be privatized, and D.M. Qureshi, as chairman of the National Bank of Pakistan wanted privatization of the development finance institutions to promote real competition between them and increase their efficiency.

However, February has come and gone without any privatization, although Rs 1.5 billion is to be mobilized through sale of shares of the public sector enterprises before June to fill the large budgetary gap. The government has not yet come up with a clear-cut privatization policy or the schedule of the enterprises to be privatized. What is known is that initially five percent or more shares would be offered to the workers of these enterprises at concessional rates, and then to the small shareholders with Rs 10,000 as the ceiling. Beyond that it has been only speculation by the Press or loud thinking by the officials. And although May is less than two months away, the picture is far from clear.

Earlier the proposal was to sell or denationalize losing companies, and later it was decided to sell the shares of profitable companies. Otherwise neither the workers nor the small shareholders will be interested in buying shares of privatized companies.

Compared to that Turkey, from which we are borrowing some of our economic wisdom, has come up with an announcement for privatizing 32 enterprises. Announcing the scheme a treasury official said: "We are opening the Pandora's Box. If we don't it will blow up". In our case the box or enterprises may not blow up but may simply wither away, and sink the public sector banks and DFIs [expansion unknown] from which they have borrowed heavily as well along with them.

The central issue of privatization in Pakistan is majority control of the shares or management control. If the majority of shares and management control remain in the hands of the government, the public may not be interested in buying shares of such companies. They may fear that their investment may vanish, along with the loans obtained by those enterprises from the public sector banks and DFIs.

Opposition to privatization in Pakistan comes from three quarters. The first are the employees of these enterprises, which on the 73 units under the Ministry of Production alone comes to 75,000. The total, including those in public sector banks and insurance companies, PSO, the Pakistan Refinery, shipyard etc. may come to four to five lakhs. They want all the units they are employed in to continue as state enterprises as they can get the best terms there without much exertion. So even the schools teachers do not want denationalization of school as the teachers' strike in Karachi demonstrates.

The bureaucracy is not in favor of privatization, and even more transfer of management to the private sector as officials are occupying most of the top places, in fact they have, overall, far better benefits as chiefs of such enterprises than as officials in the secretariat. They can get employment in the public sector enterprises after retirement, and they don't want this kingdom to go off their hands.

The ideological or political wing of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] is not anxious to transfer the public sector enterprises enterised to the private sector and forfeit the major avenue to provide employment to political workers and their backers. The Ministry of Production now says that during the first year of the PPP rule ending November 1989, the profits of the 73 industries under its control increased by 128 percent over the preceding year or by Rs 963 million to Rs 1,713 million, while production went up by 7.3 percent, net sales by 13.5 percent and payment of taxes by 34.9 percent.

While the elements opposing privatization may use such profit figures to block, delay, or water it down, the government is to set up a number of major and medium projects in the public sector, initially at a cost of Rs 750 million, though the ultimate figures is stated to be staggeringly large. The avowed purpose of expanding public sector in this manner, instead of contracting it, is to take industries to distant areas, create employment opportunities and stimulate economic growth.

In Poland Lech Walesa has said 85 percent of its industries will have to be privatized to overcome its acute economic

crisis, marked by its inflation of 447 percent and foreign debt of 39 billion dollars, and its need for large foreign assistance. As the most powerful labor leader of Poland his approach to privatization is a world apart from the approach of our workers or their leaders, even when they are to be coaxed by offering shares of privatized companies at concessional prices.

However, if nationalization is bad and public sector very wasteful and inefficient, is privatization the answer for that in Pakistan?

If the telephone department shows that you can get a terribly bad service even while making a profit of Rs 7.5 billion, the Pakistan steel shows how a public sector enterprise can push up prices steeply regardless of its consequences. And the public sector banks provide an example of very low profits hand in hand with very poor service to clients. But if the government is a poor manager of the public sector, the private sector in Pakistan is a poor trustee to public or small investors funds in their companies.

If a third of the 350 companies listed on the Karachi Stock Exchange do not give any dividends at all for many years, and another one-third gives a dividend below the bank interest rate or for below the real inflation rate, how can the people trust their investments with them? We have sick or sickened industries with very robust owners who are richer for that. How is that there is a tremendous rush for subscribing to the capital of foreign companies, and the same is not true of Pakistani companies, except in rare cases, until the recent manipulative practices in the Stock Exchange? If our entrepreneurs will not pay adequate taxes, return the bank loans, pay decent salaries to their managers or pay fair dividends to the minority share holders while foreign companies can do all that what kind of privatization can we have? Even the workers will not be excited about owning the shares of such companies. If privatization is to be a real success, there has to be a tremendous change in the approach and ethical standard of the private sector entrepreneurs.

And of course, privatization has to be preceded by the establishment of private sector banks, or real privatization, not token measures, of the existing public sector banks. The people should invest their funds in the shares of the privatized enterprises and not that borrowed from public sector banks.

Besides, privatization can be a success only if the Corporate Law Authority checks the abuses of monopoly companies and the Karachi Stock Exchange plays a cleaner role instead of being a party to insider trading and other abuses. Clearly the ethical standards of the private sector have to go up substantially.

Article Questions 'Reality' of 'Progress'

46000101D Karachi DAWN in English 27 Mar 90 p 9

[Article by Mushtaq Ahmad]

[Text] Who has got what out of the country and whether what he has got is equivalent to his contribution to the

nation and commensurate with his deserts is a question that can be universally raised but nowhere satisfactorily answered or capable of being satisfactorily answered even in traditionally well-established societies which have a set pattern of distribution but no distributive mechanism that corresponds to principle of equity and justice. The nearest approximation between labor and reward could only be expected in countries which had abandoned the law of supply and demand and abolished the right to private ownership of property.

Wide variations exist in the former categories of states, where huge fortunes can be made through speculation, hoarding, profiteering, inheritance and variety of means and methods for their accumulation. Disparities have, however, not caused deprivation in their midst because of the social legislation that has the protective cover of State power controlled by representative institutions which are truly representative of a politically conscious public opinion.

In the other category of States vast accumulations of wealth and property do not characterize the social order. From it inequities and injustices are eliminated by a system that gives needs precedence over capacity for payment, and opportunity for all over privileges for the few.

The newly-created country of Pakistan did not have either the tradition of one or the radicalism of the other, or its own innovative genius to put its house in order. Even emulating the example of the West or the East called for ingenuity, imagination, and calibre, we have to be honest enough to admit, we did not possess. We had a leader comparable to the best in the class existing anywhere in the traditional societies, not the leadership to step into his shoes once he was no more and he did not live a little more than a year after he had accomplished the mission.

The missionary zeal with which the Quaid had imbued and inspired his followers, did not last long. During the struggle for independence he had often quoted the famous words 'the nation expects every man to do his duty by his people'. I do not know who their author was. Perhaps it was Nelson at Trafalgar or Wellington at Waterloo. Whoever it was, it was not Winston Churchill whose inimitable gift for the phrase and indomitable courage had raised the patriotism of Englishmen to undream of heights in the historic battle for Britain's survival at the hands of a mortal foe.

The Quaid's call to the people was no less stirring. His flair for rhetoric and forensic skill combined with his unbending determination and lofty character he had inspired the masses to make untold sacrifices from which they did not deflect or desist. It is they who made the offerings of their lives and belongings even the donations for the election campaigns were offered by them of which

he made public acknowledgement, deriding the parsimonious classes who were at pains to save all they had and amass more after the victory had been won by the sweat, blood and toil of the multitude. They were like the tillers of the soil who sowed the seeds and raised the crops while it is the landlords who reaped the harvest.

Pakistan when it came into existence had its share, perhaps a far greater share of rich and powerful landlords. Possession and not productivity was the secret of their power and overlordship on the tenants.

Capitalism has the means of multiplying the wealth of the nation even if it is owned by the capitalists, feudalism, on the other hand, has no dynamism of growth. The system by the very nature of land ownership is lacking in initiative enterprise and conducive to lassitude and luxury among the owners, carrying with it the vestiges of master-servant relationship. The hands that plough the fields do not have the assistance of modern technology to enhance their yields. The country we inherited was poor, and the poor who inhabited it, were exploited and oppressed by the landlords who owned and controlled its resources. A bare and barren land was waiting for the application of science and technology and the ingenuity of men to develop it rapidly for the millions who had brought the new State into being.

Even a casual observer of contemporary Pakistan would not hesitate to pronounce that the architects of freedom have not been the recipients of its blessings. Almost from its very inception the country fell a helpless prey to grasping hands of individuals, whose wistful glances saw a tempting feast on which to feed their insatiable appetite. If offered limitless opportunities for self-enrichment for men without scruples, who had readily forsaken their skin-deep idealism for hard-hearted materialism, once the ideal for which the nation had fought, had been achieved.

The real estate swindle, all in the name of evacuee property out of which fabulous fortunes were made, was a dangerous step towards the decline of patriotism followed by others still more dangerous taken by unscrupulous elements from either side of the border.

The rat race has continued unabated to this day without the glimmer of a hope that it will ever come to a stop despite all the rosy promises of incoming and outgoing governments.

The post-independence era has consequently witnessed the emergence of a whole class belonging to every trade, calling, business, profession and service owing its affluence and even its proficiency and performance to opportunities which would not have been available to it in a society governed by the rule of law which gave every citizen the same opportunity for advancement in life. The thriving lot cannot with a clear conscience maintain that it had no powerful edge over the less fortunate, by dint of the illegitimate resources in its possession and unethical resourcefulness at its command to forge ahead to its ultimate fruition.

Industry, banking, business, bureaucracy, medicine, engineering and even education, or for that matter any field of national endeavour are not free from the virus that has infected the entire structure of society.

At a recent function addressed by the President, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the proprietor-editor of a leading national daily, made a candid confession that had it not been for Pakistan he would have ended as the owner of a paper with a modest circulation or would have been working in newspaper office. Today he owns a chain of dailies and weeklies, mornings and evenings English as well as Urdu, and is reckoned among the most flourishing industrialists, when we think of the Press as an industry which, it certainly is, besides being a profession. The fourth estate is but a tiny fragment of the industrial empire that spans the country ruled over by a few thousand tycoons. They may be called pioneers of industry as industry as such was practically non-existent in 1947, the number of factories existing then could be counted on finger-tips. The vast majority of our entrepreneurs were businessmen and brokers who could be conveniently classified as petit-bourgeoisie. It is the creation of Pakistan that brought within their reach the opulence and influence they command. Without it most of them would have been unheard of quantities, and some of them would have figured at the bottom of the industrial banking hierarchy in the subcontinent before its partition.

Precise statistics of their assets have intentionally and interestingly not been officially compiled but 30 percent of the nation's wealth of which not even 1 percent was in their possession 40 years ago, is now estimated their private property.

The bureaucracy is a vital and indispensable part of the State apparatus. Meager representation in its composition had been a grievance of the Muslims in undivided India. Reservation of seats for the community meant the primacy of patronage over merit. By and large they were the sons of the gentry which was the prop of the British power. Its conversion into a political arm in Pakistan was not an act of faith but a matter of interest. A restricted field was now thrown open to the feudal aristocracy that wielded the reins of power to formulate a recruitment policy that subserved its ulterior ends.

Reservation for the communal minority was now replaced by quotas for the provinces. It is ironical that only a minority of seats was reserved for merit. Class composition of the services, both civil and military, would reveal a feudal predominance in their ranks. The children of the poor had neither the financial support for studies in the prestigious institutions of learning nor the influence of wealth to enter their portals. State service was beyond their ken and even the professions in which specialists of every description abound, were not within their reach. Exceptions apart, they are a monopoly of the progeny the new class of the new rich who, whether they happen to be doctors, lawyers, consultants, contractors, architects or engineers, have like the industrialists and businessmen further enriched themselves by the heavy fees they charge from their patients and clients.

In an underground economy that dominates the market and black-money that freely floats around, it is a lucrative field for exploitation. If the price asked for goods and services is ungrudgingly paid by the rich, the poor for whom there is such a lack of sympathy, are certain to be pauperized in the absence of paying capacity even for the basic necessities of life and living, including food, clothing, health and shelter.

The landlords, the capitalists, the bureaucrats, the bankers and the professionals, are members of the same fraternity who have a common stage in a society that has become highly stratified into antagonist classes with all the potentialities of an explosive situation in the future.

Successive governments, not excluding the present one have built islands of prosperity in an ocean of poverty in whose seeming calm may lurk a storm against which the protective walls of law and order may prove to be of no avail.

Editorial Outlines Pak-EEC Ties

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[Text] The two-day twelfth session of the EEC-Pakistan Joint Commission held at Islamabad about a week ago, concluded seemingly with an aura of satisfaction for both the sides though the crucial matters like relaxation in quota restrictions on Pakistan's textile exports continued to hang in the balance. The major aspect of the meeting was the announcement of a fresh grant of 67 million dollars by the EEC to Pakistan for the financing of four or five socio-economic projects. That the financial assistance is in the form of grants is indeed reflective of a significant gesture of goodwill towards Pakistan. The EEC's earlier assistance of 85 million dollars was reported to be under utilization in the implementation of certain important development projects in the four provinces of the country.

EEC as a bloc of twelve Western European countries is Pakistan's important trade partner. Pakistan's foreign trade accounts for about 26 percent of imports from the EEC and almost equivalent percentage of total exports go to it. However, Pakistan has been perpetually running an adverse balance with the EEC which was to the extent of \$200 to \$250 million in the last two to three years. This is indicative of lack of adequate increase in exports and increasing dependence on the EEC countries like West Germany, U.K., France, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium and Spain for the import of plant and machinery, spares, chemical items, etc. Pakistan's demand for these items would understandably continue to increase in the wake of stepped-up tempo of investment in the vital sectors of the economy specially industry, power generation, communications and agriculture-related schemes. The country's imports from the EEC were estimated at \$1.50 billion in 1988-89 while imports amounted to about \$1.16 billion, resulting in an adverse balance of about \$340 million. It is however, encouraging to note that Pakistan's adverse balance with EEC has shown a steady process of narrowing

down in the last five to six years. In 1983-84 and 1984-85, the country's adverse balance with EEC was to the extent of 50 percent, exports accounted for only 50 percent of imports. This position has gradually improved with sustained increases in exports of leather, leather goods and leather garments, ready-made garments, cotton fabrics, carpets, raw cotton, etc.

This shows that Pakistan's private sector has the dynamism to add to the country's export potential and undertake aggressive marketing on the export front provided artificial barriers are removed by the developed countries to restrict the flow of imports. One of the major hurdles in the way of an accelerated rise in Pakistan's exports, is the clamp on increase in the export of textile products, in which Pakistan has the capability to increase production for export and thereby to increase its share in the world market.

None of the developed countries including those in the EEC seem to be mentally disposed to let the existing Multifiber Arrangement phase out in the current year. This is evident not only from the initiatives of the individual advanced countries to conclude new agreements with the textile exporting developing countries in order to regulate their exports of textile goods with fresh quotas, but also they have been actively putting forward new proposals and plans in the Uruguay Round meetings for retaining quota restrictions in one form or the other. At the same time, as if to forestall the aggressive advocacy of the developing countries against restrictions on textiles, the highly developed nations have resorted to new types of pressures to bear upon the developing countries. These include pressures to open avenues of investment in services like banking, insurance and other financial sectors in addition to demands to reduce tariffs and liberalize imports from the developed countries.

Thus, the highly advanced countries who are never tired of vigorously projecting the need for completely free and unfettered flow of international trade, are equally unrelenting in their stand on the issue of quota restrictions on textiles.

Reverting to the Pak-EEC meeting, the problem faced by textile exports from Pakistan due to quota restrictions, also reportedly figured as one of the items of discussion. But the EEC stand on this issue has remained unchanged with its stance that the quotas allowed to textiles were relatively liberal compared to other developed countries. Nevertheless, restrictive practice is very much there.

A change in the pattern of trade flows to and from EEC after the planned commercial and economic integration of the EEC countries into a single market in 1992, is difficult to foresee. New trends may come to fore due to intensification of competition within the EEC countries after the abolition of their commercial frontiers. The trade partners of the EEC may find a broader market to sell their goods as customs restrictions by individual EEC countries are not expected to continue.

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